

Rambling Recollections



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Rambling Recollections

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF
G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
LATE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN SPAIN

Ut, quocunque loco fueris, vixisse libenter
Te dicas.

Hor. Epis. I. xi.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
ST. MARTIN'S STREET, LONDON

1908

CONTENTS

CHAPTER XXXVI

	PAGE
Sir Henry Bulwer's views on the state of Turkey in 1860 . . .	1-12

CHAPTER XXXVII

Constantinople—Fuad Pasha—Aali Pasha—Prince Couza—Princess Aristarchi—Return to Corfu—Journey to Russia—Nijni Novgorod—Ceremony of the Assumption—Moscow—Acquaintances in Russia—Italy	13-25
--	-------

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Florence—Constantinople—Financial scheme—Stood for Dorchester—Colonel Sturt—Athenæum—Mr. Hayward's dinner-table Whist-parties—Mr. Hayward's anecdotes—Legal stories	26-37
---	-------

CHAPTER XXXIX

"The Owls"—Contributors to <i>The Owl</i> —Lines written by Sir George Trevelyan—Experience of M. Mocquard—The Guild of Literature—History of Nance Oldfield—Her descendants—Lord Orford	38-49
--	-------

CHAPTER XL

Channel Ferry Scheme—Langrand Combination—Winding-up proceedings—Loans Committee—Article on Finance . . .	50-66
---	-------

RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

CHAPTER XLI

	PAGE
Franco-Prussian War—Journey to the front—Sedan—Visit to the town—Prussian permit—Retinue of the Emperor—Napoleon III. at Bouillon—Ardennes prices—Distress of the French—Superiority of Prussian artillery—Departure of the Emperor—English visitors	67-77

CHAPTER XLII

Another visit to the front—Journey to Briey—Gravelotte—Prussian losses—Siege of Metz—Incidents of the war—Nancy—Visit to Strasburg—Under fire—Saarbrücken	78-88
---	-------

CHAPTER XLIII

Visit to Baden—Siege of Strasburg—Destruction of the city—Surrender—Visit to the trenches—Defiles in the Vosges—Toul—Account of siege—Incidents at Toul—Return to Nancy—Rumours of peace—End of journey	89-101
---	--------

CHAPTER XLIV

Boscombe estate—Sir Percy Shelley—Theatricals—Canvassing Christchurch—Dissolution of Parliament—Return from abroad—Elected Member for Christchurch—"Faggot vote" at St. Albans—Visit to Hatfield—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Disraeli—Entering House of Commons—Parliamentary officials—Dean Milman's stories—Cosmopolitan Club	102-110
--	---------

CHAPTER XLV

Characteristics of Members of Parliament—Contemporaries in the House—Mr. Labouchere—"Tom Collins"—Irish Party—Different Members	111-121
---	---------

CHAPTER XLVI

Mr. Hanbury—Acquaintances in the House—Liberal friends—Baron Lionel de Rothschild—Lord Beaconsfield—Family of Rothschild	121-131
--	---------

CONTENTS

vii

CHAPTER XLVII

	PAGE
Bills in the House of Commons—Eastern Question—Suez Canal —Royal Titles Proclamation Bill—"Bulgarian Atrocities"— Meeting at Christchurch—Letter from Lord Beaconsfield— Journey to Egypt—Sir George Elliot—Society at Cairo—The Mouffetish—Khedive Ismail—Mr. Goschen—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Resolution	135-145

CHAPTER XLVIII

Lord Derby's Resignation—Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office —Salisbury Circular—Negotiations for a Congress—Opinion in England—Journey to the Continent—M. Waddington— England and Egypt—Political views in Paris	146-157
--	---------

CHAPTER XLIX

Count de Breda—Foreign opinion of Salisbury Circular—Feeling in Austria-Hungary—Baron Gagern—Other interviews	158-167
--	---------

CHAPTER L

Politics at Vienna—Count Andrassy—Austro-Hungarian views— The Near East	168-181
--	---------

CHAPTER LI

Political discussions—Austrian Alliance—M. Hoffmann—Baron Orezy—Visit to Pesth—Count Albert Apponyi—Hungarian politics—M. Tisza—Return <i>via</i> Berlin	182-192
--	---------

CHAPTER LII

Berlin Congress—Prince Bismarck—Reception of British Plenipo- tentiaries—Commission on Eastern Roumelia—Journey to Constantinople—Difficulties with the Turks—Constantinople —Eastern Roumelia—Philippopolis	193-209
---	---------

CHAPTER LIII

Treaty of Berlin—Turks and Bulgarians—Distress in Philippopolis	PAGE
—M. Rainoff—Turkish grievances—Christmas at Philippopolis	210-218

CHAPTER LIV

Prince Dondoukoff—Russian opposition—Russian Governor of Eastern Roumelia—General Todleben—Despatch to Lord Salisbury—"Gymnastic Societies"—Difficulties with Russia—Militia—Proclamations by the Emperor of Russia—Signature of Organic Statute—Dinner with the Sultan—Installation of Governor—Final results of Commission	219-231
---	----------------

CHAPTER LV

Lord Salisbury's views on Turkey—Eastern Roumelia—Russian aims—Sketch of Constitution—Occupation of the Province	
Politics in the Near East	232-241

CHAPTER LVI

Return to England—Eastern Question—Portsmouth Election	
Friends at Portsmouth—Lord Beaconsfield's defeat—Oratory in Parliament—Acquaintances in the House of Commons	242-257

CHAPTER LVII

Parliament of 1880—Bradlaugh episode—Sir Stafford Northcote	
Bradlaugh Debate—Fourth Party—Mr. Balfour—Lord Randolph Churchill—Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions	258-267

CHAPTER LVIII

Lord Beaconsfield—Difficulties of the Government—Correspondence with Mr. Gladstone regarding Arabi Pasha—Conference on Egypt—The Primrose League—Formation of Lord Salisbury's Government—Election at Woodstock—Disappearance of the Fourth Party	268-273
--	----------------

CONTENTS

ix

CHAPTER LIX

	PAGE
Special Mission to Egypt—Eastern affairs—Visit to the King of the Belgians—Journey to Constantinople—Audience of the Sultan—Turkish Plenipotentiaries—Objects of Mission—Difficulties—Authority of native officers—Incident in Persia—Revolution in Eastern Roumelia—Change of administration in Turkey—Situation in Egypt	274-286

CHAPTER LX

Convention with Turkey—Provisions—Importance of Article VI.—Farewell audience of the Sultan—Order of the Shefakat—Arrival in Egypt—Interviews with Nubar Pasha and the Khedive—Character of Khedive Tewfik—Origin of title—Foreign representatives at Cairo—Visits to sheikhs—Other acquaintances	287-297
---	---------

CHAPTER LXI

Moukhtar Pasha—Arrival in Egypt—His love of proverbs—Scientific attainments—Household—Address to the Khedive—Views on Mahdism—Sir Frederick Stephenson—Soudanese song—Resignation of Lord Salisbury's Government—Lord Rosebery—Affairs in the Soudan—Discussions with the Khedive and Moukhtar Pasha—Stay at Alexandria—Royal visits—Description of the Sultan—Ex-Khedive Ismail	298-308
--	---------

CHAPTER LXII

Conservative Government—Return to London—Discussions on Egyptian Question—Scheme accepted by Government—Lord Randolph Churchill resigns—Consequences for Egypt—Journey to Constantinople—Reception by the Sultan—Candidates for Khedivate—Visits to officials—Views of Musurus Pasha—Ultior Convention—Date of evacuation and right of re-entry—Convention accepted by the Sultan—Signature by the Plenipotentiaries—The Sultan's refusal to ratify Convention—Departure from Constantinople—Regrets at leaving—European society on the Levant—Letter from the Khedive	309-321
--	---------

CHAPTER LXIII

	PAGE
Illness—Minister in Persia—Journey to Tehran—Persian etymology—Travelling in Persia—Escort—Legation at Tehran—Audience of the Shah—His Majesty's descent—Shiah marriages—Lady Wolff's visit to the Shah's favourite wife—Treasury—Amin-es-Sultan—Persian Ministers— <i>Corps diplomatique</i> in Tehran—Lord Dufferin—Politics in Persia—Murder of a Kajar Prince	322-336

CHAPTER LXIV

Persian questions—Interview with M. de Staal—Reiter concession—Shah's proclamation securing his subjects' rights of property—Opening of the Karun River	337-344
---	---------

CHAPTER LXV

Summer at Gulahek—Attempt to come to an understanding with Russia—Letter to Prince Dolgorouki—Imperial Bank of Persia—Mr. Cartwright's mission to India—The Shah's projected visit to England—His tour in 1873—Journey from Tehran—Return to England	345-354
--	---------

CHAPTER LXVI

Arrangements for the Shah's visit—His Majesty's reception—Visit to Windsor—Entertainments in London—Hatfield—Visits to great manufacturing towns—Scotland—Newcastle—Royal progress—Brighton—The Shah's departure—Characteristics	355-365
--	---------

CHAPTER LXVII

The Shah's statesmanship—The Prince of Wales—Journey to Berlin—Audience of the Czar—Despatch to Lord Salisbury—Return to Tehran—Visitors—Negotiations with Russia—Russia and England in Persia—Proposed visit to India—Illness—Return to England—Ordered abroad—Resignation of post at Tehran—Letter from the Shah	366-378
--	---------

CONTENTS

xi

CHAPTER LXVIII

	PAGE
Minister in Bucarest—A true prophecy—Crimes in Bulgaria—The King of Roumania— <i>Corps diplomatique</i> —Sinaia—The Roumanian race—Their language—Bulgarian—Ancestral features of inhabitants of York—Death of the Duke of Clarence	379-383

CHAPTER LXIX

Ambassador at Madrid—Spanish Tariff Law—Protection and Free Trade—Journey to Spain—British Embassy staff—The <i>corps diplomatique</i> —The Queen Regent—My first audience—The Queen's Speech—Celebration in honour of Christopher Columbus	384-393
---	---------

CHAPTER LXX

Spanish statesmen—Madrid society—English visitors—Commercial Convention—Señor Moret—Russian fleet at Toulon—Cuban insurrection—Spanish prospects—The Queen Regent—The British Embassy—English friends—Lord Rosebery's visit—Good-bye to Spain	394-408
---	---------

INDEX	409
-----------------	-----

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF . . .	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. AN OWLS' DINNER	<i>To face page 39</i>
3. NANCE OLDFIELD. After the Painting by Richardson	„ 47
4. EASTERN ROUMELIAN COMMISSION . . .	„ 196
5. PHILIPPOPOLIS. By Baron Fernand de Beeckman	„ 208
6. CARTOON FROM <i>Vanity Fair</i>	„ 258
7. SALTANAT ABAD	„ 325
8. ALI ASGAR KHAN, AMIN-ES-SULTAN, ATABEG- AZAM	„ 329
9. THE SHAH AT HATFIELD	„ 358
10. KING AND QUEEN-REGENT OF SPAIN . .	„ 402

~~CHAPTER XXXVI~~

Sir Henry Bulwer's views on the state of Turkey in 1860

SIR HENRY BULWER, when first at Constantinople in 1860, wrote some very important letters to Admiral Martin, the Commander-in-Chief of the Mediterranean. These form a kind of epoch in the history of Turkey, and, as all the parties concerned are now dead, I think it may be wise to publish the originals of Sir Henry Bulwer's comments, as was desired by the writer.

THERAPIA, September 22, 1860.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL.—I promised to write you some statement on the affairs of Turkey: I will endeavour to do so, as fully as I can, though hastily.

The fault of the old system of Turkish administration was that it placed immense responsibility in the hands of men in power, with life and death and confiscation of property completely in their hands: they abused this power and responsibility in as great a degree as men could well abuse it; and the Government also, which had the right of condemning or approving their conduct, abused their own power and responsibility also. Heads went off in all directions, with or without cause, and no man was certain for a day together of his life, his estate, or his purse.

The reaction which followed towards milder measures went just as much too far in the inverse direction. The

effect has been everywhere to cripple individual power, and destroy individual responsibility; and as everything in this country, from long habit, depends on individuals, the effect of a new system has been to destroy power everywhere. The Pacha in the provinces has his authority confounded with the Medjlis or Council, the one being able to throw the blame on the other. Every affair at Constantinople is referred to Councils, and no Minister can take the simplest measure appertaining to his own department without the Cabinet of Ministers discussing it or entering into it.

You may easily imagine why nothing is done, as well as why no one is punished. Add to this, when the Turks were induced to abandon their former laws and usages, no new laws practicable under the circumstances were given to them; whilst a number of general principles were laid down which the Turks naturally say should be applied in one way and the Christians in another. In this manner the jealousy it was intended to assuage has been immeasurably increased, and confusion added to inaction and impunity.

Now as to finances. The expenses of Turkey have of late years been immeasurably increased, partly by reforms in Army or Navy: partly by wars, or the fear of war: and partly by the corruption which the knowledge that no chastisement awaited it was likely to encourage. A new feature in Turkish finance, moreover, now became visible. Formerly the Sultan spent what he had, and got what he could. Those who became wealthy were so many sponges, squeezed out on any occasion which called for the liquor they had sucked into themselves. A great portion of trade, and nearly all property, were moreover in the hands of Turks, who in great emergencies were always ready to sacrifice what they had for the sake of the representative of their race and their religion. The indulgences and privileges furnished of late years to the Christians have enabled them by their superior activity to get almost the entire trade of Turkey into their hands: they have become, much more than they were formerly, landed proprietors: they pay with more unwillingness, and their opposition is more formidable. Foreign loans came in to aid this state of things, and the Turk, finding he could

borrow money easily, spent it more lavishly. But with the financial system derived from Europe, they had no knowledge of managing, as Europeans manage, their finances either in checking expenditure or collecting taxes. Thus borrow! borrow! borrow! was their only resource as immediate payments became necessary; and this on those terms by which the money wanted could most quickly be procured. Thus the revenue was pledged for six months or a year in advance; but as they who got it in from the people lent it out again to the Government, things in a certain way at least went on. When moreover the demands of Russia created general apprehensions, lenders would lend no more, and the Government stood *with all its expenses going on and no revenue* for seven or eight months to come. Added to this, the Government made a great mistake before I came here, contrary to every rational motive. Having determined on establishing a Bank, and recalling the paper money lately discredited, they should of course have made use of the new Bank to withdraw the discredited money. But instead of this, they make an arrangement by which the new Bank is not to issue for four months after the said paper money is withdrawn. They create in this manner a difficulty both as to withdrawing the paper money and starting the Bank. And finally, when they do withdraw four millions of paper, or more, from the circulation—without having anything else to replace it by—they increase their difficulties instead of alleviating them. Here we are consequently in a crisis: in order to get out of it two things are wanting.

First, a loan to supply the six or seven months' current revenue which are pledged, and without which the current expenditure must stop; and

Second, a series of measures which, by offering some hopes of future improvement, will serve as a guarantee to those who lend their money now; and here is the question I have been for some time past discussing with the Porte without getting very near to a conclusion, whilst in the meantime things were daily getting worse and worse. If there is not a loan, there must, I fear, be a bankruptcy, which, without saying more, would be a greater loss to English capital than the sum

which is now required to be advanced. I am trying, however, by various means, to get the Government through their financial difficulties; and if they will only act with the least energy and decision, I shall do so.

Now as to the politics of persons. Aali Pacha is a remarkably honest, well-informed, and intelligent man, but without any decision of character. He is for the moment temporary Grand Vizir.

The real Grand Vizir (who is, as you know, making a circuit in the country) is honest, with no great capacity, but great energy. Fuad's *bon mot* is that one is "all head" and the other "all legs."

Fuad himself is a very remarkable man—fond of pleasure, fond of affairs; quick of intelligence, of considerable genius and resources, and great momentary energy. But as Aali Pacha can neither say "yes" nor "no," so Fuad's fault is that he always says "yes" in some way or other: little fixed principle, an over desire to conciliate, have given to his character a greater outer colour of duplicity than it internally possesses, though even his nature is not thoroughly straightforward. He looks to be Grand Vizir at some new crisis, and went to Syria with that notion.

Rushdi Pacha, who was lately Grand Vizir and is now employed in a sort of Financial Commission, is scrupulously honest and painstaking, but his *forte* is in details. He spends hours in some project to save a penny, without having the mind to grasp some general project which would save thousands.

Aali Pacha, Fuad Pacha, and Rushdi Pacha form a kind of triumvirate, and would become, if united with the Grand Vizir, exceedingly powerful, but cannot by itself hold its ground against one man, who is decidedly the most powerful man in the Empire.

This man is the Seraskier, Riza Pacha. He . . . ruled the country during the Sultan's tender age with absolute authority. Hated by the Sultan, in reality he has within the last few years acquired an absolute power over his mind, and this by a very simple expedient. He represents every one, whom he himself has cause to fear, as in an intrigue to place

the Sultan's brother on the throne. In this manner he has placed the Sultan's brother-in-law, the Capitan Pacha, a man of some natural energy, but who is now completely cowed, under surveillance; and on a late occasion, when I had to complain of some abuses he committed, he even tried the same ruse with me, and has in a similar manner deprived Omer Pacha of all command. During the time of Lord Stratford, he entered into a close and intimate alliance with the French Embassy, of which I know the conditions, and that Embassy will support him, whatever he does, at all hazards. It is well to remember this, as it may have no small influence in anything that may take place in Syria with respect to the Turkish troops. By the army he is hated, nor has he ever served as a soldier; he has not instruction, but he has much cunning, is utterly unscrupulous, very ambitious, a certain force of character, an intimate acquaintance with all the intrigues of Constantinople, and has adherents everywhere posted in the palace. In short, he is a most dangerous man both to the Sultan and the Empire, but he has amassed great wealth, great influence, and is also a most dangerous antagonist to any one who would wish to curtail his influence or curb his power.

As to the condition of the Empire itself, it is everywhere mined or threatened. In Servia, an insurrection has long been brewing, and may at any time break out; and this might provoke a movement in Bulgaria. That is nearly at the gate of Constantinople. In the other parts of the country, the Greek and Russian agents have been alike exciting the Turkish population against the Christian, and the Christians against the Turks. The object is to provoke a conflict which, whether Greek or Turk were successful, would countenance an intervention from without. Indeed, were no such intervention to take place, the Turk, notwithstanding all difficulties and defects, would be easily, in my opinion, predominant. To this picture I have little to add.

In regard to Syria, what strikes me as important is to hear the Druse story. They have sent it to me: it all depends upon its correctness, and of that I can't judge. One fact, however, as stated struck me as worthy of con-

6 RECONCILIATION OF MINISTERS CH.

sideration. It is that nearly all the Dragomans are allied more or less with the Maronites, and have misrepresented occurrences to their chiefs. This may be a lie or the truth, but merits inquiry.

The main point for the Turkish Government is to furnish its own officials; the wars between Druses and Maronites are wars between highland clans: they affect the peace of a country, but not the destinies of an empire.

When you have read this, let me know any particular points about which you wish for my opinion.

And now, my dear Admiral, good-night and goodbye.—
Yours, etc.,
H. L. BULWER.

CONSTANTINOPLE, *November 28, 1860.*

MY DEAR ADMIRAL—I have promised to write to you from time to time, and to give you reports which might enable you to judge with tolerable correctness the state of this Empire.

My late report, being the first of the series, gave you a hasty sketch of the general condition of things here. I do not think that since that time anything has taken place which can be said radically to alter that condition.

The Grand Vizir is returned, and his return without visiting Bosnia has been much attacked. The attack, however, was chiefly from personal and party motives. It was supposed he would demand the dismissal of Riza Pasha, the Seraskier, who is supported by the French Embassy with more than ordinary friendship, and has acquired by one means or another a peculiar influence at the Palace. Kyprizli, however, could not in this respect count on the support of his colleagues, who were not disposed to give themselves a master who they thought would be as absolute in his authority as Riza, and less indulgent to any peccadilloes they might commit.

The Grand Vizir ended, therefore, by making it up with his antagonist, and his visit to Bosnia is no more talked of. It would have been very desirable that he should have visited this province, as also the Herzegovine, both of which are in a very unsatisfactory state, if he could have visited them with any prospect of doing any good. But the roads at this

season of the year are almost impassable. The re-establishment of order and justice amidst conflicting populations could only be effected by an authority capable of carrying out its decrees by force. With discontented and ill-paid troops, and a general spirit in Europe which was likely to view with distrust any attempt to put down those portions of the population which were Christians and in revolt, or in a state bordering upon revolt, vigorous measures could not easily be adopted ; and thus Kyprizli judged it more prudent to return to Constantinople, and, by attempting to repair in some degree the disordered state of the finances, to place both himself and his Government in a better position by the ensuing spring. There was a good deal to say both for and against this course ; but, having once adopted it, he could not have quitted Constantinople and returned to the provinces (without doing something here), except at the risk of leaving the capital in a state of insecurity ; for the long expectancies of unpaid functionaries and a distressed population had become centred in him ; and his sudden disappearance would have been the signal, if not of a general outbreak, of a clamour and discontent which might have led to an outbreak, if it were only from the fact that one would have been generally expected.

The principal acts which have marked his return have been, first, the delivery to the different Embassies and Legations of a statement which I think satisfactorily disposes of most of the Russian charges. They appear indeed to have been wholly and entirely without foundation, in those spots which he chiefly visited, and to which they chiefly referred. Secondly, the contracting of a new loan on the most disadvantageous conditions, and which nothing but the absolute necessity of means to withdraw the current revenue from the hands to which it had been pledged, and the equal necessity of paying the Army and Navy and the official servants of the Government their long arrears, at all justified. Nevertheless, if well employed, this loan, however onerous, may give the Turks a breathing-time ; but, if ill-employed, it will be a gigantic step further towards the utter and irretrievable bankruptcy with which the Government is menaced.

Its principal terms are as follows: the Turkish Government creates a debt of sixteen millions sterling at 6 per cent, but at the price of 53. Thus the actual sum it receives is about eight millions, and the interest it has to pay is 12 per cent. These conditions become more severe as we enter further into details. The loan is not to be handed over at once, but by six instalments in the next eighteen months, and the interest upon the whole is to be paid from the moment the first instalment is made. Thus the sum which the Turks will receive for the first six months will be, say, £1,300,000; but they will have to pay the same interest as if they had been receiving eight millions; and so on, during the different instalments; by which means they will have actually paid during the eighteen months a large sum in the shape of interest out of that which they will receive in the shape of loan. Furthermore, as they want the money immediately, and it is not to be paid till within the next eighteen months, they will have to make a new loan on the guarantee of the present one; and in this manner the eight millions allotted to them nominally will be reduced to $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions, or thereabouts. You may guess that I was not myself in favour of such a sacrifice, but any other scheme requires support; and as in a difficult position it is impossible to take any measure which is not liable to objections, so every other measure was objected to; and finally, as borrowing money is always much easier—at least costs much less trouble, whatever its conditions—than doing anything to get money, the propositions of M. Mirez, the contractor, were accepted without hesitation. It still, however, requires the French Emperor's sanction, and as he can grant or withhold this for one or two months, the Turkish Government is during this time dependent upon him, which may affect affairs in Syria as elsewhere.

With respect to Syria, I do not see that any great change has taken place since your departure: things there, from their very nature, are in a false position. The French Army does not wish to have gone to Syria for nothing, and consequently wishes to do something, and to have the credit of doing everything. We may say the same with respect to the European Commission. Each of these authorities wishes

to figure in the first place; Fuad Pasha, on the other hand, wishes to do everything and to be thought to do everything as the representative of the Turkish Government. It is impossible that there should be perfect harmony between persons thus situated, and each will naturally accuse the other. But, if the principle is once laid down that the Turkish Government is to exist when the French troops and the European Commission are withdrawn, the essential thing no doubt is to maintain the Turkish *prestige*, and rather to give the Turks more credit than they deserve than less. Taking all things into consideration, moreover, it appears to me that Fuad has done and is doing all that a man in his position can or could do; and I am rather for praising his conduct on the whole, than criticising it severely in detail. I do not, however, myself entirely like the aspect which affairs are taking. I think we have got rather into a mess, by dealing with a whole people as paupers, instead of making our charity after the first moment dependent in some degree on their own courage and exertions. So I do not think we should be so particular about attempting in detail to inflict punishment or award justice with respect to individual cases. An affair of this kind is to be treated greatly. The interference of Europe was in the first place intended as a check on the state of confusion and murder then existing, and secondly, to make a striking impression on the mind of the countries to which it was applied, leaving on them a conviction that such disorders could not be triumphant, and could not therefore be safely repeated. All beyond this seems to me beyond the mark. I am also rather of opinion that too little stress has been laid on the original conduct of the Maronites, and too little account taken of the barbarous and cruel habits of both Maronites and Druses. The men who provoke a quarrel are almost, if not quite, as guilty as those who, when a quarrel is forced upon them, push it to an unjustifiable extent; nor should we forget the fact that it was the intention of the Maronites to cut the throats of the Druses, that drove the Druses to cut the throats of the Maronites. Lord Dufferin, however, is showing great ability and acting with much judgment in the execution of the

difficult task assigned to him, and I greatly rely on his tact and the firmness which, when the occasion calls for it, I am confident he will show. The Turkish authorities who fail in their duty should be severely punished. Any chiefs among the Druses who sanctioned the barbarities that were committed should likewise be made an example of. The exaggerated fears of the Christians, whether real or pretended, should be met and diminished, and cannot form a reasonable rule for the measures we should take respecting it. Finally, some plan should be concocted, as soon as possible, on the acceptance of which by the Porte the French occupation should cease.

Unfortunately, however, there is no one in Syria who can carry out such a system as this with the decision necessary. The plan of the French is evidently to establish on the mountain, and over the district adjoining, a quasi-independent sovereignty under their protection. The sooner this plan is clearly brought forward, acquiesced in or opposed, the better. Things never go so far as when people know where they are going. I will bring the question to a point with the least possible delay.

As to the rest of the Empire generally, the visit of Prince Couza to Constantinople did some good. He is fully aware that it is not his interest to separate from Turkey if he can avoid it; and the Turks ought to be aware that it is their interest to conciliate him if they can.

In Servia the new Prince has certainly stopped many of the intrigues which his father maintained, and will now be disposed to live on good terms with the Porte, if the Porte will satisfy his personal ambition, which is now principally directed, though he has no children, to obtain the right of hereditary succession granted to his family. He is a man, however, who I think nourishes large schemes of ambition in his mind, connected not merely with the Slavonic races in Turkey, but with those of Hungary, whilst he wants the energy and ability, which are required for great designs, and which are perhaps wanted even in a greater degree than he possesses, for mastering his own unruly and unstable people.

From Montenegro we receive varying accounts—some

representing the new Prince with greater discretion, and showing a disposition to be on better terms with the Authorities. Others, on the contrary, represent him as arming to aid some movement in the Herzegovine. It appears to me that he is preparing for contingencies; but it is supposed in the meantime he intends to act in such a manner as will not give just grounds of complaint against him. In fact, whatever he does or can do, must depend on what is done by others in his neighbourhood.

The Greek frontier is disturbed by intrigues and marauders, but there is at present no serious cause for alarm.

The reports of our Consuls generally throughout European Turkey lead to these conclusions:—First, that it is chiefly agitated by Greek and Russian intrigues; secondly, that the Russian stories are nearly all exaggerations, where they are not inventions; thirdly, that the country is ill-governed, but not so ill-governed as is represented; and its misgovernment is as much owing to the abuses of the Greek Bishops, and the Christians who farm the revenue, as to the Turks themselves; fourthly, that the Turks are quite strong enough to crush any internal movement against their authority; and lastly, that no movements of that kind will take place unless they are countenanced by the Agents of Foreign Governments.

- The two main dangers which in fact threaten the Empire are the designs of those without it; and the want of energy and steadiness of purpose of those within it and who now regulate its affairs. The first might be counteracted, were it not for the second; but I confess that, with respect to the second, it is difficult for me to place any strong reliance on the success of the endeavours I am constantly making, to infuse a new character into the Ottoman Councils. The pride of the Turk frequently induces him to fight for shadows when he should endeavour to grasp realities. His habits and thoughts so separate him from Christians that he can hardly comprehend the advice of Christian friends, or feel perfect reliance in them. This often prevents him from making reforms on friendly suggestions, until, being forced on him by peremptory demands, they become un-

worthy concessions. He has not yet thoroughly convinced himself that, associating with Europe, he must in some way or other become European ; and, having abandoned his old ways, he lingers so long on the threshold of new ones, that the road may become impassable when he sees the absolute necessity of entering fairly upon it. Added to this, all moderate counsels are thwarted by the States who are ultimately bent upon more violent measures. It was but lately that I invited the Representatives of the Great Powers to meet and devise some practical measures of Reform, which would do much good without shocking strong prejudices. The Porte opposed this meeting, I think unwisely, because, if any measures were considered satisfactory by the Great Powers, the people would see there was nothing else to expect from those Powers : and this would steady the public mind ; but, in addition to the opposition of the Porte, the Representatives of those very Governments which have been loud in contending for the necessity of changes, without ever stating what changes were desired, seem in no wise eager to define their views, and therefore the only result I anticipate from my invitation is that the Ottoman Government itself will adopt some of the measures which it knows I should have suggested.

In short, the labours of Sisyphus, of which we read in our school-days, were nothing to the toils of the British Embassy ; and the constant indigestion of frustrated intentions hardly leaves one the strength or the spirit to write such a despatch as that which I am now closing to you, and which I have no doubt that you will think, notwithstanding its haste and imperfections, quite enough in the way of Eastern correspondence.

Pray do not forget to point out to me any particular points of information you require, as well as to state whether this sort of occasional report meets your requirements.—
Yours, etc.

H. L. BULWER.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Constantinople—Fuad Pasha—Aali Pasha—Prince Couza—Princess Aristarchi—Return to Corfu—Journey to Russia—Nijni Novgorod—Ceremony of the Assumption—Moscow—Acquaintances in Russia—Italy.

THE termination of the special connection between Great Britain and the Ionian Islands has been described. We could not leave without regret, as life, outside politics, was very pleasant there, and the Islanders were most kindly and agreeable people. We left the day before Sir Henry Storks, and went to Constantinople, where we had been invited by Sir Henry and Lady Bulwer. Fuad Pasha had also expressed a wish to see me, knowing that I was disengaged, and thinking that I might be useful in a great operation he was about to undertake—the putting in order of Turkish finances.

We left our children at Corfu, as our visit to Constantinople was to be very short. We stayed there about ten days, and I saw Fuad Pasha constantly. He was Grand Vizier at the time, and his principal rival, Aali Pasha, was Minister for Foreign Affairs. Both of them were men of mark, and would have been so in any country.

Fuad Pasha asked me one day how I had employed my time since I had last seen him. I told him that I had been reading a book written by M. Tchikacheff, a well-known Russian writer. The book was called *Constantinople et le Bosphore*, and I remarked that he advised every one to come and spend the summer on the Bosphorus.

Thereupon Fuad Pasha said, "*Sans doute c'est surtout à son gouvernement qu'il adresse ce conseil-là !*"

I may here perhaps mention a few neat sayings of the Pasha's.

A great and very rich Armenian had left Constantinople for Paris. His name was Dadian, but he was commonly known as Baruti Bashi—the Head of the Powder Magazines, through which he had made his fortune.

Fuad Pasha had always favoured the Gregorian Armenians, in preference to what are called the United Armenians, who recognise the supremacy of the Pope. After the Greek Revolution, it was the custom in Constantinople to employ Armenians in the Chanceries, to take the place of the Greeks formerly employed, and Fuad Pasha had placed many of the Gregorian Armenians in different Government offices. Amongst these was Baruti Bashi, who, having become very rich, went to Paris to enjoy himself, and there he died. His body was brought home, as it is the wish of all Armenians to be buried in Asia, and at the Bridge of Galata priests both of the United and Gregorian sects went to claim the body. I should perhaps

say that Armenian funerals last some days, and a great deal of money is spent upon them. As the priests of the two sects could not come to terms, they went to the Grand Vizier, who has universal appellate jurisdiction in such cases.

Fuad Pasha, after hearing the stories of both sides, said to the representatives of the United Armenians, "I have known Baruti Bashi all my life. He was a friend of mine. I always knew him to be a Gregorian. On what do you base your claim to conduct the funeral?"

The United priests replied that it was true that Baruti Bashi had always been a Gregorian; but, when he died at Paris, no Gregorian priest could be found, and he had received the last Sacraments from a Roman Catholic.

Fuad Pasha asked what the effect of that would be. They replied that it had saved his soul.

Thereupon the Pasha rejoined, "Well, since you have his soul, you may as well let the others have his body," and he charged the Gregorians with the ceremony.

As I have mentioned the name of Dadian, it may be as well here to record a curious tradition connected with this family. They were originally Kings of Mingrelia, and claimed direct descent from King David. As their arms, they bear all the emblems of David—the crook, the sling, the harp, and the crown—and they declare that they can trace the use of these arms for two thousand years.

About the time when I was at Constantinople, a financial agent was there who had been sent by the house of De Vaux. He was a very fussy man, and coming in one day to Fuad Pasha, he said, "*Je travaille pour Votre Altesse comme un bœuf.*"

Fuad Pasha replied, "*Puisque vous représentez la maison de Vaux.*"

On one occasion Fuad Pasha went on a Mission, I believe to Spain. A present of a diamond bracelet having been previously sent to the Queen, her Majesty had the diamonds taken out of the bracelet and made into a pair of earrings. When Fuad Pasha had his audience, the Queen pointed this out, and said she hoped that the Sultan would forgive her for having made the alteration.

Fuad Pasha replied, "*Sa Majesté sera enchantée que Votre Majesté prête l'oreille à ce qui vient de Constantinople.*"

After the Crimean War, many foreigners came to obtain concessions from the Turkish Government. Fuad Pasha was known to have said, "*Tout le monde ici demande une concession—l'un demande une banque, l'autre une route. Ça finira mal—banque et route—banqueroute!*"

It was related of Fuad Pasha that at one time he had appointed a gentleman as Commissioner, to represent the Government for a certain financial transaction. This gentleman asked to be allowed a secretary well versed in arithmetic, to make calculations for him.

Fuad Pasha said, "*Sans doute—surtout quelqu'un*

qui connaît bien l'addition, parceque, quant à la soustraction, il est passé maître."

On one occasion, people were arguing in Fuad Pasha's presence on some great European complication, in which Turkey was, to a certain extent, concerned. Fuad Pasha reflected for some time, and at last said, "There is an old Turkish story which applies to us. It is said that a cock and hen heard the master and mistress of the house quarrelling. The cock said to the hen, 'This touches us nearly.' The hen said, 'Why? We have nothing to do with it.' The cock replied, 'As they are quarrelling, one of them will fall ill, and one of us two will be sacrificed to make broth!'"

Aali Pasha was a man of great culture and acute thought. Once, in some distant part of Turkey, a violent public commotion interfered with an English Protestant chapel or school. Forcible remonstrances were made by the Embassy, and Aali Pasha returned an answer to the effect that, no doubt, in a country so feeble as Turkey was supposed to be, it was difficult to ensure order in distant provinces. He had reason to know that disturbances of this kind took place in far stronger countries. Even in the dominion of the powerful British Government—at Malta—an attempt had been made by some resident Mussulmans to adopt a place of worship of their own; but the scheme had to be abandoned in consequence of the violence of the Maltese inhabitants, who successfully resisted

the powerful Government of England even when applied to one of her smallest dependencies.

Among other interesting incidents of my journey to Constantinople was my meeting with Prince Couza, who had been elected by both the Danubian Principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, as their representative. Previously to this, the *hospodars* of Moldavia and Wallachia had been selected by the Porte from among the Greeks living at the Phanar, known as the Phanariote Greeks, and I think that Prince Couza must have belonged *originally to that section of the Greek race*. He was living at the Sultan's palace on the Sweet Waters of Asia. He received us most kindly, and expressed a wish that we should visit him at Bucarest.

It was then, I think, that I made the acquaintance of Rustem Pasha, who had previously known various members of my family at Florence. He was a remarkable man—an Italian by birth, of good family, bearing the title of Count Mariani. I never ascertained exactly how or why he entered the service of the Sultan; but he was treated very well by the Turkish authorities, and was at one time Governor of the Lebanon. He told me a curious circumstance. Wishing to restore the cedars of Lebanon, the number of which had been reduced, I believe, to seven, he tried to get saplings or cuttings, but could obtain none in the Lebanon itself. He did, however, obtain some from the Botanical Gardens at Brussels. All cedars of the

future, therefore, will have undergone Belgian naturalisation.

Rustem Pasha was afterwards Ambassador in London. He had a very curious collection of mandrakes, of which he gave me one. They are very interesting, for the roots all have the appearance of a human figure, and, when drawn out of the earth, they make sounds resembling the cries of a human being. They are supposed to bring good luck. Count Kalnoky, the Austrian Prime Minister, had one to which he attributed a great deal of his fortune. I never saw it myself; but Count Kalnoky showed it to Sir Charles Wyke, who told me that it resembled a man in evening dress. The Count kept it in a case, and carried it with him everywhere.

At Constantinople we also made the acquaintance of a very remarkable woman—the Princess Aristarchi of Samos. Samos has an independent administration, something like one of our self-governing colonies, with representative institutions. The Princess had achieved for herself a very influential position at Constantinople. She was a Greek by birth, of the name of Pitzipios, and was much courted by the different Embassies, being intimate with the harem of the Sultan. Afterwards she was very badly treated: while living at Prinkipo, one of the Prince's islands, she was hurriedly exiled and separated from her family. She was a woman of great charm and accomplishment. Two or three of the Ambassadors at

Constantinople told me that she was the only woman who could argue coldly on political matters, and that her remarks were most suggestive.

After spending a very pleasant time at Constantinople, and seeing all that was possible, we returned to Corfu, and thus saw it under its new Government. Our visit there coincided with the arrival of the new King, whom we saw frequently during the short time we remained in Corfu. Among *other incidents that I remember* was a picnic to a place well known for the beauty of its scenery. It was given by the Representatives of England, France, and Russia, at that time all *chargés d'affaires*. The Englishman was Mr.—now Sir Horace—Rumbold. The picnic was organised by Admiral Yelverton, who had accompanied the King to Corfu, and who conveyed us in small steamers of the Fleet.

The King seemed to enjoy himself thoroughly, and was much appreciated by his new subjects. It was too soon for any changes to have taken place in the island, which seemed as cheery as ever. This was the first occasion on which I was fortunate enough to see the King. He had appointed several of the old servants of the Government to different places. M. Rodostamos, a relative of Capo d' Istria, who had for some years been *aide-de-camp* to the President of the Senate, had been appointed Marshal of the Household, and seemed to understand the duties thoroughly.

Soon after my return to England, I left it

again, travelling with a friend of mine, then engaged in making railways in Russia. By mistake we went to Stettin, expecting to find a steamer there to take us to St. Petersburg, but we had been misinformed, and were obliged to go back to Berlin.

A special train then ran from St. Petersburg to Moscow once a week, leaving on Saturday night, and arriving Sunday. The line was in the state in which it had originally been designed, that is, from studies made by the Emperor Nicholas, who drew a straight line with a ruler on a map from one capital to the other. The line therefore went as a bird flies, and, as birds do not shape their flight so as to touch great cities, the Moscow railway passed no town of any size except Tver. The refreshments on the road were excellent, though the wine we drank was not equal to the names by which it was designated. All the claret was Château Lafite; hock was Johannisberg; sauterne was Château Yquem; and the champagne was Clicquot or Roederer.

The railway carriages were different from those running to the frontier. They were about ten feet square. On two sides ran long undivided seats, the remaining passengers making use of padded chairs. Space in those days was allotted to first-class passengers with a liberality which years have probably cut short.

It was told of that line that a passenger from Moscow, travelling for the first time, by mistake

got into the return train at a station where the two were crossing. He met a brother-townsmen, and inquired where he was going. "To Moscow," was the reply. "Strange is the march of civilisation," rejoined the first. "I am going to St. Petersburg, and you to Moscow, and we are both travelling in the same carriage!"

We duly arrived at Moscow, and thence we went to see the Fair at Nijni Novgorod, which interested us greatly. We returned to Moscow, delighted with all we had seen, and in time for the great ceremony of the Assumption. The Emperor was expected, and we were promised good places by a gentleman attached to the Court.

On the Friday evening the Czar arrived. The town was prettily illuminated, though, unfortunately, by a large consumption of tallow, in the absence of gas.

In those days the entry of the Czar into Moscow was most striking. Crowds were awaiting him, enthusiastic, yet in perfect order, without a soldier or policeman to keep the peace. On his arrival, he entered a little *droschky*, unescorted, and drove to the Kremlin. Hundreds of his subjects accompanied his carriage, running, little boys holding on to the springs and screaming their welcome. A few rumbling Court carriages, bringing up the rear, were quite separated from their master's carriage. At length the *droschky* reached the gates of the Kremlin. The Emperor alighted at the

little Chapel of the Virgin, and after paying his devotions, entered the palace.

The next morning a large party of us went to the Kremlin, and passed through a small hall off the Hall of St. George, where the representatives of the burghers of Moscow were assembled. We were in a small gallery exactly opposite the staircase down which the Emperor was to pass on his way to church. A large crowd filled the place below, all orderly, though occasionally a policeman was forced to drive them back as they broke through the line. Within, the Emperor was receiving the bread and salt, and the religious donations of the Moscow burghers.

At length a roar of welcome ran along the crowd, and the Emperor appeared on the steps. As he descended, the cheering continued. This he acknowledged by a military salute, and a slight inclination of the head.

I remember that the Church of the Assumption was very remarkable, chiefly owing to the quantity of relics and the decoration of the shrines. There was the picture of the Virgin of Vladimir, said to have been painted by St. Luke. The setting was valued at 200,000 roubles, while one solitaire alone was worth 80,000. In a special shrine was placed the tunic of our Lord, brought to Moscow in 1682 by the Ambassadors Roussanbeck and Mouratbeck; also a portion of the tunic of the Virgin, and a nail of the Holy Cross.

At Moscow, as in other Russian towns, there

were public gardens, used for evening amusements. In those days the gardens were celebrated for gipsy-dancing. The gipsies formed tribes under the direction of a chief, at whose command they sang and danced. The singing was peculiar. The women sat in rows on the stage, the men standing behind, while the chief would enter with two guitars and stand in front. One guitar he retained himself, handing the other from one woman to another as it came to their turn to play. Each soloist sang to her own guitar, accompanied by that of the chief who droned out a vocal accompaniment. The songs were alternately joyous and sentimental, very wild, with occasionally a beautiful melody. The harmony of the choruses was also striking.

At Moscow I met Prince Orloff, then, I think, Russian Minister in Paris. I had brought a letter to him from a very old friend of mine, Mr. Percy Ffrench, who had himself married a Russian lady. I also made the acquaintance of M. Katkoff, a celebrated man, with whom I spent an evening. He was the proprietor of the *Journal de Moscou*, and the head of the Old Russian Party. Here I met some ladies who came from Odessa, friends of my two acquaintances, the Misses Kolontaieff already mentioned.

On leaving Moscow, we returned to St. Petersburg, where Mr. Lumley—later Lord Savile—was then chargé d'affaires. There I met Prince Gortchakoff, the celebrated Chancellor, and Count

Lewaschoff, Chief of the Staff to the Grand Duke Michael, Viceroy of the Caucasus. He had come to St. Petersburg, with a view to meeting my travelling companion, and trying to arrange matters for the construction of the railway from Poti, on the Black Sea, to Tiflis. I do not think that they came to any terms; but the railway has since been made and extended as far as Baku. I have been on it more than once.

From St. Petersburg I returned to England, and after a short stay left for Italy, where I joined my family.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

Florence—Constantinople—Financial scheme—Stood for Dorchester—Colonel Sturt—Athenæum—Mr. Hayward's dinner-table—Whist-parties—Mr. Hayward's anecdotes—Legal stories.

I STAYED for some time at Florence, where the *most serious business I had in hand* was to find a house for the British Legation, which was to be transferred from Turin.

I had been in harness for eighteen years, and for a while felt quite at a loss to find occupation. I scarcely knew how to spend my time. At length, however, I received a summons to proceed to Constantinople on the financial business to which allusion has already been made.

I left my family at Florence, and started for Constantinople by the steamer from Leghorn. Lord and Lady Grey were on board, on their way to Rome.

The business on which I was engaged was the conversion of the Internal into an External Debt. It is too late now to enter into all the details, but the prevalent idea was that by making the Loan external instead of internal, it would of itself increase in value. In fact, it did so, and the

Porte obtained a large sum of money—I think two millions—without any addition to their annual charges. The Internal Loans were divided into different categories, under different names. Those called “Consolidés,” being 100 medjidies in gold, were converted into bonds of £110 sterling, at a lower rate of interest; and other classes of the Internal Debt were also given their equivalent in the new stock, which consisted of 40,000,000 gold medjidies, to be inscribed in a great book of the General Debt of the Ottoman Empire.

The scheme was supported both by Fuad and Aali Pasha, though it naturally irritated financiers who had previously done profitable business with the Porte. The Austrian Internuncio, Baron Prokesch-Osten, was at first hostile, but he subsequently changed his opinion.

All ended well, though the affair is now forgotten, many far more important operations of the kind having since then taken place.

Early in 1865, I returned to England, and in May of that year I was asked to stand for Dorchester, where I had some acquaintances. I did stand, and with the most disastrous results. The borough, which was a small one, had for some time been represented by what, in Parliamentary language, is called “one and one.” Mr. Sheridan was the Liberal, and Colonel Sturt the Conservative. The latter was a most agreeable and lively companion, with the quaintest modes of expression I ever heard. He told me that once,

when canvassing at Dorchester, a bootmaker whom he employed in London had sent him a new pair of boots. Instead of simply charging for the boots, he added accessories on to his bill. The boots were two guineas, and in addition he charged separately for patent caps, patent laces, patent heels, running up the account to more than £4. *Colonel Sturt telegraphed to him, "Thanks for boots and the bill. You have forgotten to charge for the leather."*

On another occasion his quaintness was addressed to Mr. Gladstone, to whose house Colonel Sturt was invited for a dance. He was welcomed by Mr. Gladstone, who said how glad he was that Colonel Sturt could accept the invitation. Colonel Sturt replied, "Of course I was delighted to accept your invitation. I have the greatest admiration for you. I tell all our fellows that you're one of the ablest men in the House of Commons!" He died comparatively young, before his brother, who was subsequently created Lord Alington. He also spoke in the same quaint phraseology.

I then began to frequent, more than I had hitherto done, the Clubs of which I was a member. At the Athenæum there was a dinner-table organised by Mr. Hayward. Before his time it had been managed by Theodore Hook, who used to invite different members to dine at it. Mr. Hayward followed the same plan, and those who had access to the dinner found it most pleasant. Two members who frequently attended were Lord

Arthur and Lord Odo Russell, the most amiable of men. Lord Odo was in the Diplomatic Service, and, being at Constantinople during the war, when the telegraph was first used officially, he invented the word "telegram." I believe it is bad Greek; but it served a useful purpose as the abbreviation of the phrase "telegraphic despatch," and was universally adopted.

Among other guests at Mr. Hayward's dinner-table were Mr. Trollope, the novelist, Mr. Kinglake, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Monck, Mr. Thomas Baring, Lord Lytton, Sir Henry Bulwer, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Sir Charles Bunbury, Mr. Massey, Mr. Merivale, Sir Charles Wyke, Mr. Delane, Sir George Dasent, Mr.—afterwards Sir Austin—Layard, Lord Emly, Mr. W. E. Forster, Mr. Kirkman Hodgson, Mr. George Shaw-Lefevre, Sir Edmund Head, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Alexander Duff-Gordon, Count Strzelecki, and many others. Eventually it almost grew into a regularly constituted little society. It is thus described in Mr. Tuckwell's *Biographical and Literary Study* of Mr. Kinglake :—

Here, in the "Corner," as they called it, round Kinglake would be Hayward, Drummond Wolff, Massey, Oliphant, Edward Twisleton, Strzelecki, Storks, Venables, Wyke, Bunbury, Gregory, American Ticknor, and a few more; Sir W. Stirling Maxwell, when in Scotland, sending hampers of pheasants to the company. "Hurried to the Athenæum for dinner," says Ticknor in 1857, "and there found Kinglake and Sir Henry Rawlinson, to whom were soon added Hayward and Stirling. We pushed our tables together and

had a jolly dinner. . . . To the Athenæum; and having dined pleasantly with Merivale, Kinglake, and Stirling, I hurried off to the House." In later years, when his voice grew low and his hearing difficult, he preferred that the diners should resolve themselves into little groups, assigning to himself a *tête-à-tête*, with whom at his ease he could unfold himself.

Count Strzelecki was a man of great humour, who used to relate anecdotes in broken English *which added great point* to his stories. He told us that, during some revolution, there had been meetings of servants who passed a resolution that their masters should be forced to serve them in the same capacity in which they had themselves served. One man, however, protested violently. He was a *chef*, and declared that, if his master were to cook for him, he should be poisoned.

The Count had made for himself a considerable name on the subject of Australia. He had visited that country when it was still comparatively unknown in England.

There was a good deal of whist-playing in the afternoons at the Athenæum in the smaller library, and this I frequented when in town, for my time was divided between London and the house I was building near Bournemouth. The whist-tables were also organised by Mr. Hayward, and consisted of himself, Mr. Trollope, Mr. Merivale, Mr. W. E. Forster, Sir Alexander Duff-Gordon, and Mr. Romilly, a brother of the Master of the Rolls, who held some high office in the House of Lords. Another player was Mr. Hugnan, one of whose

daughters married Sir Brydges Henniker, a friend of mine. The other was the second wife of the late Duke of Rutland. Mr. Hayward had written a very good book on whist. It was the basis on which he used to find fault with his partner in unmeasured language, which we all accepted humbly.

Mr. Hayward, as I have said before, was a man full of anecdotes of a very interesting character. He had some of Daniel O'Connell.

Serjeant Murphy, who was rather fond of mentioning his exalted friends, had been staying at Carton, the Duke of Leinster's place. A few days afterwards, he alluded to his visit before O'Connell, mentioning as an extraordinary fact that he had been dining at Carton, and that, for some reason or other, there was no fish. Thereupon O'Connell said, "Maybe they'd eaten it all up in the parlour."

It is extraordinary to observe in England the weakness that most people have for boasting of their friends in high places, and the deference that they show to them. The daughter of a lady of very high rank had some pain in her foot, which her mother asked the governess to be good enough to look at. The latter, after examining it, said, "If it were not for her ladyship's exalted rank, I should say it was a bunion."

This weakness is not common to England alone, however. I was talking with a Russian lady, who declared that the same foible existed in her own country. She told me that some ladies were

calling on a friend, whom they found in deep mourning. They asked her the reason, and she replied, "*Vous ne savez pas que je viens de perdre ma mère, née Princesse Troubetzkoy ?*"

Serjeant Murphy stood for Coventry during the time of what was called the Papal Aggression. At that time, Mr. Bethell—afterwards Lord Westbury—had given an opinion as to the legal bearing of the question. In his electioneering speech, Serjeant Murphy had said, "I know that Mr. Bethell is of a different opinion ; but I am a lawyer too, and I believe my opinion is as good as his." Serjeant Murphy was elected, and when he took his seat in the House he met Mr. Bethell. The latter drew him aside, and said, "I wish to say a word to you. I understand that you declared at Coventry that your opinion was as good as mine, and that you differed from me in the opinion I expressed about the Papal Aggression." Serjeant Murphy replied, "In these days how can one get into Parliament, and keep there, unless one occasionally makes little statements of that kind ?"

On another occasion, O'Connell declared that a young barrister had been sent to him in Dublin to be helped in his career. Mr. O'Connell therefore did exert himself, and at last the young gentleman obtained a brief, and told Mr. O'Connell that he wished to do honour to his patron and would therefore be glad if he might recite before him his opening speech. This was agreed to, and the

young barrister proceeded to read his speech, which began as follows :—

My lord and gentlemen of the jury, I swear to Heaven that if I had known on my arrival in court this morning that I was to be charged with so important a case, nothing would have induced me to undertake the task.

Among other anecdotes of Mr. Hayward's were several concerning a gentleman well known as Tom Young. He had been Lord Melbourne's private secretary, and during the Irish troubles in 1848, Mr. Smith O'Brien, I think, had accused him of having invited by letter Sir William Napier, during the agitation about the Reform Bill, to organise a Birmingham mob to come to London and intimidate Parliament. The accusation created a great deal of interest and correspondence. *Punch* inserted a paragraph headed "Young's Night Thoughts :—'What a fool I was ever to write that letter!'"

• Mr. Hayward had also anecdotes about a person at one time well known in society—Lord Alvanley. One of his peculiarities was the blunt and informal language he used. For instance, asking a question about a gentleman named Ridley who was being discussed at the moment, Lord Alvanley said, "Is he any relation of the clergyman who was burnt?"

Mr. Hayward had been intimately acquainted with Prince Talleyrand, when he was Ambassador in London. I can only recollect one of the stories that Mr. Hayward used to tell about the Prince,

and that one seems to corroborate the great power of self-control which that diplomatist thought he had attained. On one occasion Mr. Hayward met him at a dinner-party to which the Prince had gone out of good-nature, to promote the marriage of a young man, in whom he took an interest, with a lady of considerable fortune amassed in business. Prince Talleyrand was always studiously dressed. As he was sitting next the lady of the house, a servant, carrying a tureen, spilt the soup all over the Prince's wig and clothes. Mr. Hayward said that his face did not betray the slightest emotion of any kind. The only revenge that he took was, when leaving the house, to say, "*Quelle maison bourgeoise !*"

Lawyers always have a fund of anecdotes about courts of law. Mr. Isaac Butt, who was in Parliament at the same time as myself, was full of reminiscences concerning Lord Guillamore, known formerly as Chief Justice O'Grady. According to Mr. Butt, on one occasion the leading counsel for the defence of a prisoner argued that there was no case before the jury. Lord Guillamore was about to pronounce judgment when the junior counsel asked leave to address a few words to the court. The judge replied, "I will hear you by and by, Mr. —."

The young man said, "But, my lord, it is on this point that I wish to address your lordship."

Lord Guillamore rejoined, "I will hear you by and by, Mr. —. Meanwhile, for fear of

accidents, I will direct the jury to acquit your client."

The following story is told of Lord Wensleydale, also a great lawyer. Coming home from church one day, he was heard to soliloquise, with regard to the sermon: "A good case. No reply. The court with him. And what a mess he made of it!"

Among legal incidents, there was one that amused me very much concerning the late Serjeant Ballantine. Not many years ago, there lived a Conservative gentleman of enormous wealth, who led a simple life, and whose accumulations were therefore very large. He was generous, and lent his money at low interest, provided the security was good. On one occasion he lent £500 to a friend, more as an act of good-nature than anything else. The borrower, however, did not act in a satisfactory way, and the gentleman in question insisted on the money being returned and brought an action for the purpose. He said that he would, with pleasure, have made the borrower a present of the money, but he would not allow him to act in the way he had adopted.

Serjeant Ballantine, who did not always read his briefs, assumed rather a hectoring tone with the prosecutor, who, it may be said, both in manner and dress, was the type of simplicity. The following conversation took place between them.

(Q.) I understand you to say that you would

have given the defendant the five hundred pounds, if he had acted differently. May I ask if you have got more than one five hundred pounds ?

(A.) Yes, I have.

(Q.) May I ask where you get them ?

(A.) From my savings.

(Q.) And in what do you invest your savings ?

(A.) In consols.

(Q.) Have you a good many consols, may I ask ?

(A.) Yes, I have a good many.

(Q.) How many, pray ?

(A.) About a million and a half.

Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, who knew the gentleman in question, said to Serjeant Ballantine, "I thought you were going on the wrong tack."

The Alfred, to which I had previously belonged, had been absorbed in the Oriental. I was also a member of the Carlton and of the St. James's, as well as of the Garrick. As I lived very much out of town, it was a great pleasure to be secure of so agreeable and habitual a society as the Athenæum afforded, and it was the Athenæum which, at that time, I most often frequented when coming up to town. Elsewhere I saw a good deal of Mr. Percy Doyle, of his two brothers—Colonel North, who had changed his name, and General Doyle—and of Miss Sylvia Doyle, whose wit was well known. They were related to Sir Francis Doyle, whom I had known for many years.

Another friend was Sir Hugh Rose, afterwards

Lord Strathnairn. His father had long been Member for Christchurch, and had a place in the neighbourhood. A very amusing man I knew was Doctor Standert. Mr. Christopher Denison was also a friend of mine.

Subsequently to my political venture at Dorchester, I stood for Windsor, where I was equally unfortunate. I had another failure at Christchurch in 1868, but was elected for that borough in 1874.

CHAPTER XXXIX

“The Owls”—Contributors to *The Owl*—Lines written by Sir George Trevelyan—Experience of M. Mocquard—The Guild of Literature—History of Nance Oldfield—Her descendants—Lord Orford.

TOWARDS the end of my long absence from England in the Ionian Islands, a little society was formed, known as “The Owls,” though it never officially assumed that appellation. It brought out, during the sessions of Parliament, a weekly newspaper called *The Owl*, which for some time had a great vogue, on every subject, social and political, and, having a foundation of very sound information, it was eagerly read, and enjoyed a real success. This society I was fortunate enough to be invited to join.

The founder was Lord Glenesk—then Mr. Algernon Borthwick. The paper was printed at the offices of the *Morning Post*, and published at a small stationer’s in Catherine Street. It was edited, it might almost be said, by the common vote of those who contributed articles. The association consisted both of ladies and gentlemen, all of whom were more or less in the world.

Every Monday a dinner was given, rarely twice



AN OWLS' DINNER.

at the same place ; at times by individual members, but generally at the expense of the paper. At dessert most persons produced an article intended for contribution. It was commented upon, accepted, altered, or refused. These discussions led to a great deal of humorous conversation. Rather late on Tuesday there was a meeting at the *Morning Post* offices, for the purpose of considering the final manuscript, and the paper appeared on Wednesday. Occasionally visitors or unattached contributors were invited.

Among the constant members who contributed were Lord Glenesk himself, and, for a short time, Mr. Laurence Oliphant ; Lord Wharncliffe, who had a peculiar gift for composing double acrostics which were a feature of each number, and his brother, Mr. James Stuart-Wortley, who wrote very humorously and had a great deal of information. There were also Sir Henry Bulwer, Mr. Cameron of Lochiel, a very good writer, Mr. Henry Cowper, Mr. Charles Clifford, myself, Mr. Champion, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Evelyn Ashley, Sir George Trevelyan, and Colonel—afterwards Sir Andrew—Clarke, who had a great knowledge of the Colonies, having been made Prime Minister in Australia when employed there as an officer of Engineers. Colonel Reilly—commonly known as Tim Reilly—was a contributor. Mr. Evelyn Ashley had special facilities, as may be seen in his *Life of Lord Palmerston*, and Lord Glenesk—according to the same work—had means of access

to information both from the French and English Governments. He had direct communications from the Emperor and his Secretary, Monsieur Mocquard, from Counts Persigny and Walewski, and in England from Lord Palmerston. In vol. ii. p. 393 of Lord Palmerston's *Life*, Lord Palmerston wrote from Broadlands as follows, in a letter to Count Persigny :—

Borthwick s'est rendu ici il y a quelques jours, d'après votre désir, pour me donner communication de la conversation que vous avez eue avec lui.

All the contributors had especial facilities or knowledge of varied character. Some paragraph or article always appeared which showed considerable insight into what was going on in political life, both at home and abroad, and which invariably enjoyed credence. A facsimile of the card of invitation is given herewith.

The paper, as I have already said, was very much sought after for several years ; but it ended in 1869 when Lord Glenesk married and was unable any longer to devote the necessary time to the work. It was impossible to replace him.

Sir George Trevelyan has allowed me to reproduce some lines, written by him, I think, in 1866, and which, to my mind, were very typical of the literature and object of *The Owl*. The Bill to which he refers in the first stanza was the Cattle Plague Bill, introduced by Sir George Grey ; and the reference to Lord Wenlock was from his having recently brought or defended an action against some one

who had let him a London house in a very dirty condition.

The season is here. With fresh gravel
 They tell us the Row is laid down.
 In dread of the rinderpest have all
 Our senators hurried to town.
 On Monday Sir George introduced
 The Bill which Banks Stanhope thinks weak ;
 And the Owls have returned to their roost,
 And sharpened their claws and their beak.
 Full soon, within many a mile
 Of our nest, shall no vermin be seen ;
 And even Lord Wenlock will smile
 To see all around us so clean.

Then hither and listen, whoever
 Would learn in our pages the miracle
 Of passing for witty and clever,
 Without being voted satirical !
 He'd better be apt with his pen
 Than well-dressed and well-booted and gloved,
 Who likes to be liked by the men,
 By the women who loves to be loved :
 And Fashion full often has paid
 Her good word in return for a gay word,
 For a song in the manner of Praed,
 Or an anecdote worthy of Hayward.

And hither, you sweet schoolroom beauties,
 Who only at Easter came out !
 We'll teach you your dear little duties
 At ball-room, and concert, and rout.
 With whom you may go down to supper ;
 And where you can venture to please ;
 And what you should say about Tupper,
 And what of the cattle disease ;
 And when you must ask a new member
 Why *he* did not move the Address,
 And hint how you laughed last November
 On reading his squibs in the Press.

You budding M.P.'s, we'll soon get you
 To show yourselves modest and smart,
 And, if you speak hastily, set you
 Three pages of Hansard by heart.
 Whenever with quoting you bore us
 (As pert young Harrovians will)
 Your last repetition from Horace,
 You'll write out a chapter of Mill.
 But if you can think of a hit
 That's brilliant and not very blue,
 We'll greet it by piping "Tu-whit,"
 And mark it by hooting "Tu-whoo."

So scorn not to heed our advice,
Nor deem us impertinent fowls,
Nor say that the catching of mice
Is the proper department for Owls:
 For Palmerston liked us and read us,
 And all the vicinity knew
 That the ivy which sheltered and bred us
 Around the old forest-king grew.
 Though parties and principles perish,
 Though faint is consistency's flame,
 Our loyalty ever shall cherish
 That loved and illustrious name.

The mention, on a former page, of Monsieur Mocquard recalls to my memory a curious experience of his.

An Irish lady, who had been married in America to a very distinguished man, came to Paris as a widow with her granddaughter, whom I will call Miss A. The widow was of a very enterprising character, and determined to obtain a footing for Miss A. and herself in French society. She used to write to people whose entertainments were announced—even if she did not know them—explaining that she was the widow of Commodore

——, and asking for an invitation for herself and her granddaughter. Many were good-natured and did ask them.

On the occasion of one of the Emperor's progresses through France, the lady found out the programme of his journey, and engaged rooms at all the hotels at which he was to stay. On the first night of the progress, after M. Mocquard had gone to bed, to his great surprise the widow came into his room, said that he had made a mistake, and claimed it as hers. She pointed out several *articles belonging to herself to prove that the mistake was on his part.* The servant had meanwhile taken away M. Mocquard's clothes, and he therefore could not get up. The widow told him that she did not wish to cause him any inconvenience. He might stay in the room, and she would find shelter elsewhere, on one condition—that he should write a letter on the spot promising that she and her granddaughter should have the best places near the Emperor, and invitations to all the festivities at every stopping-place during the progress. This he did. The widow left him in peace, and all Parisian society were astonished to find that, every time the Emperor halted, these ladies had the principal seats to watch the proceedings and see the *fêtes*. The Emperor, on being told the circumstances by M. Mocquard, had very good-naturedly agreed to the arrangement, and thus the enterprising lady obtained her object.

On July 29, 1865, an event took place which

was deeply interesting to those connected with literature, namely, the opening of what was called the Guild of Literature at Stevenage, near Knebworth. It was the desire of the founders to erect a number of houses, on sites presented by Sir Edward Lytton, which might either be given or let cheaply to authors. The opening day was celebrated at Knebworth itself by a great luncheon. Many of the guests were writers of mark. Mr. Charles Dickens was there *with his family*, and Mr. John Forster, editor of the *Examiner*, an old and constant friend both of Sir Edward Lytton and of his son. There were many of Sir Edward Lytton's acquaintances present, literary as well as others. Mr. Dickens made a remarkable speech which created a great impression.

The undertaking, however, did not meet with any marked success. While recognising the good intentions of the projectors, the men of letters, artists, and scholars for whom the houses were intended seemed to prefer living in the metropolis.

For a long time I have been engaged on an enquiry into the history of Nance Oldfield, the celebrated actress born in Pall Mall in 1683, who died in 1730 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Her life was a curious one, for, though she was an actress and had alliances which were not strictly in wedlock, she appears to have been received at Court, and, as I have said, was buried in Westminster Abbey. She had children by two different alliances. The first was with Mr. Arthur

Maynwaring. I adopt the spelling of the name given in *The Palmy Days of Nance Oldfield*. It was said of her, in this respect, "it was never known that she troubled the repose of any lady's lawful claim; and was far more constant than millions in the conjugal noose. Being thus acquitted of predatory designs upon the peace of English wives, and having the further virtue of constancy, a host of Londoners, men and women, high and low alike, gazed with charitable eyes on Nance's private life. And she, dear girl, sinned on joyously." Mr. Maynwaring was a *littérateur* and a politician—it is said an honest politician—who could drink as much as his friends. He was well known as a member of the famous Kit-Cat Club, "and took up his abode with Ann in the full light of day, as though a marriage ceremony were a bagatelle, not worth the recollecting. The world was forgiving, to be sure, nor is it probable that either one of this easily-mated pair suffered any loss of public esteem by the union. Dukes—nay, even Duchesses—were glad to meet Nance, and Royalty allowed her to bask in the sunshine of its gracious approval. She was to be seen on the terrace at Windsor, walking with the consorts of Dukes, and with countesses and wives of English barons, and the whole gay group might be heard calling one another by their Christian names."

Maynwaring was a great friend of Congreve. In 1712 he died, and Nance Oldfield afterwards formed a fresh alliance with General Churchill, a nephew, or

grand-nephew, of the great Duke of Marlborough. It was rumoured that they were married ; and one day the Princess of Wales—afterwards Queen *Caroline*—asked her, when she was attending the royal levee, *whether such were the case.* “So it is said, may it please your Royal Highness,” answered Nance, “but we have not owned it yet.”

By General Churchill, Nance Oldfield had a son, Charles Churchill. He married Lady Maria Walpole, the illegitimate daughter of Sir Robert Walpole, but who received the rank of an earl’s daughter when her father was raised to the peerage. There were several sons, whose descendants are to be found in various distinguished positions. One was General Horatio Churchill, whose son died in India, and whose daughter married Mr. Craufurd of Auchnames, the father of the late Mr. Edward Craufurd, whom I have already mentioned. Another son married Miss Murray, a near relative of Sir George Murray, whose grandson married in Syria and had a daughter who became the wife of a prince of the house of Shehaab, their children being therefore descended from Nance Oldfield.

Another descendant married the late Field-Marshal Sir John Michel, one of whose daughters married Colonel Becket, and the other Viscount Frankfort. The Bryants are also descended from Nance Oldfield through another of her grandsons, whose descendant, Miss Churchill, married General Sir Jeremiah Bryant. The family of Craigie is



¹
NANCE OLDFIELD.

After the Painting by Richardson.

descended from her as well. To it belongs the husband of the American authoress who took the name of John Oliver Hobbes.

Nance Oldfield's daughters married in still higher spheres, for one became the wife of Charles, first Earl Cadogan, while the other in 1781 married Horatio, second Earl of Orford, of the second creation. Their descendants are very numerous.

By the elder daughter, Nance Oldfield is represented in the families of Cadogan, Wellesley and Paget, while Lady Orford had five daughters and two sons. One of the latter never married: he was Colonel Walpole, well known in London during the Regency, being in the Guards, private secretary to Lord Palmerston, and, ultimately, *chargé d'affaires* in Chili. Through Lord and Lady Orford's other children and those of Lord and Lady Cadogan, Nance Oldfield's descendants bear the names of West, Long, Hoste, Howard, Lawson, Macan, Nevill, Savile, Masham, Keppel, Herbert, Jervoise, Maxwell-Lyte, Senhouse, Montagu, Michel, De Montmorency, Tollemache, Sturt, Bulkeley - Williams, and Bertie. She is also the ancestress of a Duchess and Princess at Naples, and of a Princess on the Lebanon, with her family. I understand that Mr. Winston Churchill, the American novelist, participates in this descent, in which I also have the honour of including myself.

I have long wished to examine the question more thoroughly, and to trace out all the descendants

of this lady; but I find the task rather above my strength, and I therefore hope that some one else may undertake it. The investigation would be interesting.

The late Lord Orford was a very remarkable man. *He was endued with great natural gifts and accomplishments, but was, unfortunately, destitute of ambition.* His particular hobby was the collecting of books and of works of art. He used to spend enormous sums on rare bindings. His library contained many books on Venetian history, and among other curious manuscripts was one giving an account of the daily life of the Cardinal de York during his last days.

At one time, Lord Orford had as his valet Courvoisier, who afterwards murdered Lord William Russell. In those days, executions were held in public, and Lord Orford, with others, took a window to see the ceremony. They had to go very early, and, being tired, they all fell asleep, and only awoke some time after the execution had taken place. This story was celebrated by the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, under the name of "Lord Tom Noddy."

Lord Orford was generally considered one of the most agreeable men that could be met with in society. It was said that at a dinner given by some ladies, they each agreed to bring the most agreeable man they knew. They each and all brought Mr. Horatio Seymour. This story has also been related of Lord Orford.

Lord Orford was a great friend of Mr. Disraeli, whom he had known from his youth. He was quite indifferent to success in life, and, though elected without a contest when he came of age, as Member for a division of Norfolk, and being later on threatened with no opposition, he voluntarily gave up the seat. The rest of his life was mostly spent abroad, but towards the end he bought a house in Cavendish Square, where, I believe, he died. There is an account of him in the *Memoirs* of his sister, Lady Dorothy Nevill.

CHAPTER XL

Channel Ferry Scheme—Langrand Combination—Winding-up proceedings—Loans Committee—Article on Finance

IN 1866, I was much interested in a project started by Sir John Fowler, the celebrated civil engineer, for what was called a Channel Ferry. I was deputed by Lord Malmesbury, the Chairman, to go to Paris and submit the scheme to the Emperor. On the 27th of February in that year I had the honour of an interview, and explained to his Majesty what was intended. He took a great interest in the project, and gave orders that it should be looked into. Unfortunately 1866 was the year of what was known as Black Friday. On the 10th of May the great discount establishment of Overend and Gurney stopped payment. According to the *Annual Register*, the engagements of the Company amounted to nineteen millions. No single bankruptcy, perhaps, had ever caused so great a shock to credit. The following day produced the wildest agitation which had ever been known in the City, and the Government was forced to intervene. This naturally put an end to *all great commercial and industrial undertakings*.

and within a very short time the war broke out between France and Germany. The Channel Ferry scheme therefore came to nothing.

I did not feel any want of occupation, but was, in fact, rather overcrowded by it.

An extraordinary combination had been formed, principally at Brussels, by a certain M. Langrand Dumonceau, a Belgian gentleman. He invented a scheme for what he called the Christianisation of capital, which meant that Roman Catholic capitalists should entrust their money only to Catholics, and not to Protestants or Jews. For this purpose he obtained a Rescript of recommendation from the Pope, who also made him a Count.

M. Langrand obtained the pecuniary support of the smaller landed proprietors of Belgium, especially of those living in the Two Flanders, who are rich and very fervent Catholics. Several Ministers of the Clerical Party were among the Directors. With this money, which M. Langrand obtained at low rates, he was enabled to purchase property in Hungary, where land was cheap, and for some time his speculation was a great success. By a curious device, he not only obtained capital for one particular undertaking, but he would make use of it for several purposes. It was said, in fact, that he established thirty-two Companies, *employing the share capital of one to purchase the debentures of another, and linking them all together, under his own superintendence, into one*

common undertaking. The land he had bought in Hungary sold to considerable advantage: it was mostly disposed of on the principle of annuities. Langrand had companies all over Germany, as well as in England, Belgium, Holland, and Italy, and obtained money on mortgages as against these annuities, which enabled him to extend his operations almost indefinitely.

It was curious that the ethical part of the business, which was well intended, was not carried out. *Questions of Protestantism* and Roman Catholicism were afterwards entirely put aside, and many Jewish financiers were engaged in this enormous business, which had practically been started by a Papal Rescript.

Amongst other properties belonging to the concern was that of Gödöllo, which was purchased afterwards by the Hungarian people, and presented by them to the Emperor of Austria, in his capacity as King of Hungary.

Several sovereign houses in Germany had entered into the speculation. Great landowners and powerful financial establishments were also interested.

The whole business, and the failure, when it came, caused great excitement, both financial and political. One German Prince of large fortune had invested £600,000 in cash, and was liable for £800,000 more. All the great Catholic names in Germany were more or less involved in the fortunes of the Langrand combination.

When the business was wound up, no illegality could be proved. The smash was due to the fact that sound schemes had in many cases been entrusted to incompetent hands.

There was a company in London, which was practically the head of the whole combination, called the International Land Credit Company. The Chairman was Lord Salisbury, and there were other Directors—all of great social position—on whose conduct there was not the slightest reproach.

Winding-up proceedings were taken in London and in the other countries interested in this group. I was asked to accept what was practically the liquidatorship of all the Companies, so as to bring the whole business into one focus. The task was very difficult. It was almost impossible to get any fixed idea of the value and liabilities of the combined business, as it was subject to different jurisdictions and different tribunals in the various countries. The business involved my going more than once to Vienna, Brussels, Paris, Amsterdam, and several of the small capitals of Germany. At Vienna I found many of the principal politicians and persons of the Court interested in the matter, if not for themselves, yet for those they served. Amongst others was Count Beust, who not very long afterwards was appointed Austrian Ambassador in London. I also made the acquaintance of Count Potocki, who was at that time, I think, Prime Minister of Austria.

Light at last appeared in what might have proved a terrible complication, and an arrangement was sanctioned by the Court of Chancery in England, and by the liquidators of the various companies abroad, which, considering the extensiveness of the crash and of the interests involved, was to a certain extent a satisfactory solution of a great difficulty. The shareholders of the English Company were not called upon for any further payments, and persons holding obligations received seventy per cent of their claims.

Since then a combination has been made in France with the same apparent object—that of promoting exclusive Roman Catholic interests—and this also came to an abrupt end.

The period had been one of extraordinary financial invention and enterprise, partly legitimate, partly the reverse. It was like those monumental epochs we read of, such as the South Sea Bubble, and Law's schemes in France. The public were eager for speculation, and easily found purveyors of financial sensation. The principal feature of the period was the procuring of enormous profits and great results by the shifting rather than by the subscription of capital. The results had, in many instances, proved fatal. The number and methods of the loans attracted so much public attention, that in 1875 the House of Commons named a Committee to examine the whole question. The nomination of this Committee had been stimulated by a report, traced to

a gentleman very much in the employment of the Prime Minister, who had declared that Mr. Disraeli intended to burke the whole enquiry. This report had reached the House of Commons, and the whole Conservative party expressed their opinion in favour of the investigation in so marked a manner while it was being discussed, in cheering the proposer, Sir Henry James—now Lord James of Hereford—that, whatever might have been the intentions of the Government Whips, it was found impossible to prevent the motion, and it was carried without a division on February 23, 1875. In fact, while Lord James was piling up his accusations, Mr. Disraeli was overheard saying to Mr. Gathorne-Hardy, who sat next to him, that it would be impossible to resist the motion.

The proceedings of the Committee caused the greatest excitement. The evidence and report occupy a large volume which is full of interest; but no steps were taken in consequence of the enquiry, and the matter dropped.

Strange to say, it is generally believed that the author of all the mischief has never been suspected of the part he really played. I do not know his name, but I have heard that he is still flourishing like a green bay-tree, and, to make use of a bull, the bay-tree is no longer a chicken. I do not suppose that his name will ever transpire, as no one is now interested in making the enquiry. It is said that by buying up the copies of the blue-books, and by other means of suppression, he has

rendered it difficult for any one to trace the part he took in the matter.

It is unnecessary now to rout up the question, and to revive the bitterness raised by the discussion. At the time—more than thirty years ago—an endeavour was made to condense into an article the real nature of the acts of which complaints were made. This was never published, and by reproducing here a portion of it, enough will have been said on a matter which is, fortunately, now forgotten, if not completely buried.

“A Parsee, the story says, died, leaving to his three sons seventeen elephants. To the eldest he left a half, one-third to the second, and to the youngest one-ninth. The distribution appeared impossible until an intelligent neighbour stepped forward with a solution. Lending one elephant of his own, he gave to the first, nine; to the second, six; and to the youngest, two. The number of seventeen was reached, the partition effected, and the eighteenth elephant returned. The intelligent neighbour was a financier, and it is to be hoped that he received a handsome commission.

“The term ‘financing’ means the adjustment of capital in such a manner that—a small profit having been secured by sums of money incurring but little or no risk, and invested for a certain period—a larger profit may be heaped in a shorter time on amounts embarked with greater risks.

“Supposing a business worth one hundred pounds

a year is to be sold for one thousand pounds. The property is sufficient security for a mortgage of five hundred pounds at five per cent. If the speculator finds five hundred pounds of his own, taking the risks of trade, he will, if successful, obtain seventy-five pounds a year, while the mortgagee, with greater security, will receive only twenty-five. But, supposing the speculator to be in possession of only two hundred pounds, he has recourse to a financier, who will perhaps lend him the three hundred pounds at ten per cent on a second charge. The business will therefore be thus divided: the mortgagee receives twenty-five pounds; the financier, thirty pounds on his three hundred; and the speculator, on two hundred pounds, will obtain forty-five. The first has a good security and small returns; the second, security which he judges sufficiently sound, with the assurance of a large interest. If the business succeeds, the financier is repaid his advance and withdraws his elephant. In case of failure, he ranks next to the mortgagee. The mortgagee represents caution, the speculator boldness, and the financier a mixture of the two qualities. The proportions of the mixture must be accurately adjusted. With too much caution, he would dwindle into the mortgagee; with over-boldness he would soar into bankruptcy. But these qualities are not sufficient. The illustration here given is merely one of the operations of a financier. His niche in civilisation contains many

pigeon-holes, the contents of which demand the most varied gifts. He must possess keen intelligence, general information of a diplomatic character, wide experience, and acute appreciation of humanity. His intelligence must make up for deficiencies in the armour of his security. His information must teach him the dangers of foreign loans and enterprise, and his experience and worldly knowledge will direct him to the right person or the right groove so as to save time in the completion of his undertakings.

“A financier, in fact, is a man who can place *either his own capital, or the capital he commands, in a way to make large profits in a short time.* His security is generally as good as a banker's; but it is lent at a longer date, and with higher returns. He is not a usurer, inasmuch as he incurs a risk. He is often somewhat of a sharp practitioner, as those he deals with generally come under the denomination of ‘queer’; but, in the interest of his business, he generally allows his associates to make a profit, though, unless themselves capitalists and financiers, the profit probably will not represent their fair share of the plunder. In a business of this kind, activity of mind and invention, expedient and resource, form clearly a stock-in-trade equal in some respects to capital. It is therefore not infrequent to see men engaged in financial business, not originally bankers or merchants, who supply some of the mental qualities in which a capitalist may

be deficient. In the present day, acquirements almost elementary in character have a market value. It is astonishing to find how few Englishmen—even those dealing with foreign countries—know anything of modern languages. A knowledge of these languages, of arithmetic, even of English composition, is often of inestimable service to the financier who does not possess these acquirements, and who is therefore ready to pay highly for them when found in others. If to these be added a familiarity with society, and powers of access to men of influence, the utility and money value of such adjuncts is more apparent.

“The profits of a financier, it is seen, depend on the number, rapidity, and variety of his operations. These may be divided into two categories—current business, and what are known as *coups*. Let us examine the latter department, in which a practised financier will generally play *à coup sûr*. It is true that his function, if compressed into a phrase, is the employment of his capital. But, except to the captains of the craft—the Barings, the Hopes, the Rothschilds—business does not drop from the clouds, or come unsolicited. On the contrary, it has to be sought, devised, discovered, or bought. New fields have to be opened out. Countries unexplored must be visited, and Governments influenced. In fact, no small item of a financier's expenses are the cost of postage, of telegrams, of journeys performed either by himself or his representatives. And these journeys are not to be

measured in cost by the expenses of a summer tour. The man soliciting or tendering for a large affair, whether as principal or agent, must inspire confidence in his wealth. He takes the best rooms at hotels. He entertains largely—for finance has long since discovered Lord Palmerston's diplomatic secret—and the expense of a banquet is nothing in comparison to the profits of a good concession. He fees Government office-keepers and waiters at hotels with princely liberality, and subscribes a sum to local charities which attracts notice in the *Government Gazette*.

“And business, when found, has to be pampered and trained like a race-horse, to make it acceptable to the public, for from the public the forces of the campaign must ultimately be attracted. It is here that the distinction is to be found between honest and dishonest financing. The honest financier does not present to the public, for his own profit, a business in which subscribers are not likely to find a profit for themselves. The dishonest financier, on the contrary, is content when he has foisted his wares on the public, indifferent as to the ultimate result. In the teeth of experience, the public believes in the promises of a prospectus. This is well ascertained, and the weakness of humanity has been well worked. To our view, the maxim of *caveat emptor* does not hold good to the disculpation of those by whom the prospectus is issued. Those who subscribe to a public undertaking must take the risks of trade—but not a

greater risk. The most promising undertakings may fail in their results ; but no honest financier—and there are many—will put forward an undertaking to the public, who does not conscientiously believe that those who join in it on the faith of his representations will obtain satisfactory returns. In this case, profits, which may appear exorbitant, are fairly earned. The *coups*, therefore, of financiers are to be found under the following heads :—

“The negotiation and issue of loans, either Governmental or municipal.

“The grant of concessions, or of Parliamentary powers for railways and other public works, and the issue of the debentures, obligations, and shares by which capital is obtained for such undertakings, whether already existing or to be created.

“The purchase of businesses to be turned into companies.

“The establishment of new companies for financial, industrial, mercantile, or manufacturing enterprise, and, finally, what are called ‘participations.’

“Under most of these heads, the financier often cumulates the functions of a promoter, and in this case receives, perhaps, a double profit. We will endeavour to explain how these profits are made.

“When a Government loan is to be issued, the manner of the issue depends greatly on the standing of the Government itself. Loans of the British Government are cheaply issued, and give

but little profit to the intermediaries. The loan is announced in the papers. Its reserve price is fixed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Sealed tenders are made, and the Government accepts such of them as offer the highest price over the official minimum. These tenders are, of course, based on the existing price of consols, and the price at which the lenders think they can re-sell the loan by retail to the public. The Exchequer is secure of the lump sum it requires, and the loan-monger is left to make his profit as best he can. Such loans are generally obtained by the very highest houses. Messrs. Rothschild, for instance, will probably what is called "underwrite" their tender amongst all their establishments and those houses with whom they generally act. The combination is strong enough to bear the outlay till a possible moment comes for a sale. They probably depend, not on a public subscription, but on a gradual absorption of their holdings in the open market. The same principle holds good for most of our colonial loans, inasmuch as these loans are favourite securities for *bona-fide* investors, who abhor speculation. In Holland and Belgium, where the population is rich and has confidence in its Government, the same system is generally practised. In France, till lately, the Government usually followed this system, soliciting, however, on their account subscriptions from private investors. But the whole circumstances are altered in the case of countries in which money is scarce,

and which are forced to bring their loans to a foreign market. These are obliged to pay high for their money, and generally to run the usual risks. Exceptions must be made for some Governments—the Russian, for instance—which generally find the great houses ready to negotiate their issues on conditions similar to those of the English Government, though, of course, more onerous. The names of Baring and Rothschild ensure the subscription; but, on the other hand, they will not risk, as the saying is, “taking firm.” If, from any circumstance, houses such as these decline a loan, or if influences are brought to bear on the foreign Government, either legitimate or illegitimate, the loan falls into the hands of less powerful financiers who are ready to take greater risks and make larger profits—Bruces of the money-market, prepared for seven failures so that success comes in the long run. Great houses are, to a certain extent, inert. As we learn from Mr. Neill, the tendency of finance is to a minimum. The mammoths of finance are content with the dribblings of constant contributory streams, which perhaps bring an average ten per cent per annum to an enormous capital. Fortunate, perhaps, that such is the case. Otherwise nothing would be left for the smaller capitalists, struggling for a name, perhaps for a local habitation.

“A loan, however, is required by a foreign Government, and one financier hears of it through his agent, or he is informed of it by one of the

smaller intermediaries who troop about offices near the Bank. The foreign Government, perhaps, has sent an agent to England, or a friend of the Finance Minister is known to be lodging at Morley's Hotel, and to have left Baring's office the day before with a heavy countenance. The financier, of course, knows everything concerning the country. The duty on cinnamon is still unmortgaged, or the revenue of two provinces are paid direct into the Treasury. A tax on land is about to pass the Chambers. The traffic returns on the Government railway have paid a pound a mile a week additional.

“‘If,’ says the intermediary, ‘you only carry out this loan, you will have the whole country at your feet.’

“‘The financier cares little for the future.

“‘I think it can be done at 52,’ he soliloquises, and sends for two confidential brokers.

“‘Can’t be done,’ says one. ‘It was offered Baring’s at 53, and they refused.’

“‘Yes, but they volunteered to take it firm at 49,’ rejoins the other.

“‘That was last year,’ breaks in the first.

“‘And they have paid off the old cinnamon loan since,’ continues No. 2.

“‘I think it can be done at 52,’ again soliloquises the financier, and, putting on his hat, he makes for Morley’s Hotel.

“‘The contract once signed, the financier proceeds to bring out the loan. A prospectus is drawn up,

announcing that he himself, or some firm charged by him, will receive subscriptions. In this prospectus, a solicitor must naturally intervene, as well as a professional manufacturer of prospectuses with a command of epithets, the attractive traits of which do not exceed the strict limits of legal veracity.

“Before the issue of a loan, a dinner is often given in the name of the financier, but at the cost of the Syndicate. It fairly comes within the item ‘market expenses.’ Here our financier presides, the diplomatic representative of the country on his right, a relative of the Finance Minister on his left. Near them are some retired Indian and Colonial officials be-ribboned, a few Admirals, a Member of a late Government—all anxious to become Directors of Companies, all counting on selling the new loan at a premium. Near them are capitalists, leading stockbrokers, some newspaper-writers, a politician who has perhaps made a hobby in Parliament of the country in question, and a clergyman whose face is well known to most of the guests as a dabbler in Turks and Lombards, and as an eager though silent attendant at meetings of discontented bondholders. Dinner over, and the speculative divine having said grace, speeches are made by the M.P. and the financier, who look forward to this loan as a new pledge of alliance between the two countries. The prospectus-maker airs the adjectives cut out of his prospectus by the solicitor. The diplomatic

representative makes speeches in a language utterly unknown to his fellow-guests. The financier, not the better for his dinner, confides in English equally unintelligible to the Finance Minister's relative that the loan, if successful, will be entirely owing to his—the financier's—abilities; that if unsuccessful, failure will only be attributable to the rotten and bankrupt state of the borrowing country. The relative and the diplomatic representative retire home perfectly satisfied with their relations with British finance, and calculating how many loans the Finance Minister can bring out before the unhallowed cabals of his opponents have forced His Excellency into resignation or exile."

CHAPTER XLI

Franco-Prussian War—Journey to the front—Sedan—Visit to the town—Prussian permit—Retinue of the Emperor—Napoleon III. at Bouillon—Ardennes prices—Distress of the French—Superiority of Prussian artillery—Departure of the Emperor—English visitors.

IN the autumn of 1870, I happened to be at Spa, and started with Mr. Richard Baring and Captain Johnson to have a glimpse at the seat of war. I have already written about those experiences of mine in a little book called *Some Notes of the Past*, published in 1893.

At the station we found that the newspapers contained a telegram from Bouillon, attributing success to the French. At Liège, however, a German ambulance volunteer from Cologne, wearing the brassard, told us that he had left Metz on the previous Sunday; that Bazaine was securely surrounded, and that the report of his escape was untrue. As usual, the Walloon population believed in the success of the French. The inhabitants on the frontier were all in their favour. *Bonnes nouvelles* meant good news for the French: *mauvaises nouvelles*, the reverse; but in the interior of Belgium, the feeling was more friendly towards Prussia.

At Bouillon I met a Russian officer, attached to the headquarters of the Prussian army, whom I had known previously—Prince Mestchersky. He had driven over with a retired officer of the Prussian army, wearing the brassard, though in uniform. It appeared that the King of Prussia, in answer to the Emperor's message, had made conditions, to be accepted by the latter at a certain hour. As no firing had been heard, it was inferred that these proposals had been accepted.

Having with much difficulty obtained a lodging for the night, we started the next morning at six o'clock, having scarcely had any breakfast—only a cup of coffee and a slice of bad bread. Everything else had been consumed. We provided ourselves, however, with two boxes of cigars to distribute to the soldiers. It was with difficulty that we induced our driver to take us forward; we could only do so by means of persuasion and promises at the end of each *kilomètre*. After crossing the frontier near La Chapelle, we came across a Prussian encampment of troops of all arms. Here we first made acquaintance with the Uhlans. We offered cigars to those nearest us, and they accepted them joyfully. On the brow of the hill we saw a staff officer. He was not above a cigar. He told us that the troops were moving. "Where to?" we asked. "To Paris, to dictate peace," was the answer. We enquired if we should be allowed to go farther. The officer said there was nothing to prevent us except perhaps the movements of the

troops. From the top of the hill near by we saw an extraordinary sight: a valley on our left, and the hills on the right all swarming with Prussian troops. La Chapelle was also full of them. The church and houses contained the wounded, and French prisoners stood about. An officer stopped us, accepted some cigars, and then good-humouredly gave us leave to proceed. He told us that the *Times* correspondent had been killed in the battle. This turned out to be Colonel Christopher Pemberton, whom I had met on his way to the front, and who had been an acquaintance of mine for many years.

Then came all the horrors of the battlefield—dead horses, a dead Zouave in a ditch on the left; another farther on; great wounds gaping, their eyes open with a glazed stare. Knapsacks everywhere, tin cans and spoons, worsted epaulettes and parchment books called *Livret d'Homme de Troupe*. For some time I possessed a bundle of letters—the correspondence of a soldier with the woman he wished to marry, and her brother. His family were opposed to the match and had tried to excite his jealousy. The letters were protestations of love and fidelity, complaints of his mother's and sisters' insults, and assurances that *cette fois je ne vois plus Leboilier*. It is needless to dwell on the recollection of the horrors we encountered at every step.

We drove on, and came to the village of Givonne, about a mile from Sedan. French

soldiers and officers, unarmed, were walking about freely, tending the wounded. Driving on through a *place* filled with trees, we turned and arrived at the gate of a fortified town. The road was full of French soldiers. The drawbridge was up, so we could not drive in. At that moment came a detachment of soldiers. We gave one or two of them cigars. No sooner had we done so than we were surrounded, almost with violence, hands being thrust into the windows. “*Donnez-moi un cigare,*” said one man, “*et je vous donnerai dix sous.*” It was melancholy to see the downcast looks of the soldiers who received none. The box was empty, but, fortunately, one of our party had reserved a few in his pocket for future use. The expressions used by these men were most distressing. They did not complain of the Prussians. “We are quite worth them,” they said. “Our officers have betrayed us. We were ready to fight. They did not know how to command. We wanted to fire, and they forbade us.” One young fellow told us he had only been a soldier seventeen days. Another said he had done the exercise four times when he was sent to the war. At length an officer ordered them off, asking if they were not ashamed to beg, adding to us, rather gruffly, “You should not encourage this kind of thing.”

We could find nothing to eat; but Mr. Baring, the day before, had bought at Liège half a chicken and a roll, which he kindly gave us, and we had a flask of brandy. Leaving the carriage at Givonne,

we went back to Sedan, and entered by a hole in the wall near the drawbridge, through which ran the gutter. We had seen the French, both soldiers and peasants, take this road.

We were now in Sedan, and asked a woman to direct us to a hotel. She desired a boy standing near to show us the way, and we plunged into the town. At the corner of one street was fixed a proclamation of the Emperor, dated August 31. It ran something like this: "Success has not hitherto followed our arms. I have therefore abandoned the command of my troops to my marshals, and shall fight as a simple soldier. Meanwhile I leave the Government to the Empress, who so well replaces me at Paris. Our misfortunes should animate all noble hearts. If there are cowards, they will be treated by military law and the contempt of their neighbours."

We tried to get breakfast at a *restaurant* frequented by officers, but it was hopeless. The *place* in which the *corps de garde* was situated was crowded with soldiers, and in the midst was General Fénélon, on horseback, giving orders. The agitation was great. The soldiers were evidently beyond the control of their officers, who were patient with them, but most disheartened. They were being mustered to surrender to the Prussians, who were to arrive at two. The soldiers looked at us in a very lowering manner. We offered one of them a cigar, which he refused. Before the inn, to which we were directed, were some desperate-

looking Turcos. There was no food for us, so we asked our guide to take us back to the Bouillon gate.

Passing down a street, we found some drunken soldiers brandishing weapons, with which the street was covered. A cavalry detachment came past. "Make way!" shouted an officer. The soldiers looked round and obeyed, but with grimaces. A mounted soldier offered us his cartouche-box. "*Prenez ça!*" he said. I declined. He then threw it down, saying, "*Va, donc!*" and cursing. Another gave our boy-guide his horse-pistol. The streets were covered, as I have said, with arms—cavalry swords, bent, battered and broken, and *chassepôts*. Then we came to a *boulevard* beside the river. This was still more strewn with weapons of all kinds. Soldiers stood about, drunk and furious, cursing, quarrelling, shouting, and looking at us dubiously. Some of them took up *chassepôts* and dashed them against the trees till they were broken; others broke swords. We saw them cutting slices off the dead horses for food. We were not sorry to reach the gate. There we saw a proclamation signed "De Wimpffen." I confess to not having stopped to read it.

At length we were outside, and found our carriage where we had left it. The driver had procured hay for the horses, but nothing for himself.

A Frenchman asked us to take him across the frontier, but we were obliged to refuse.

as our carriage was full. We now started homewards.

Near the field where the bodies lay, we found on our right, in the valley, a division of Prussians defiling up the hills. We stopped our carriage, and, standing on the bank, looked at them through our glasses. At that moment a detachment of Hussars rode up, and we told our coachman to draw on one side. Their Colonel said we must go to the General at La Chapelle and obtain a permit from him. We were given an escort, and, after a short walk, arrived at La Chapelle, which was full of troops on the move. The General was very civil, and glanced at our passports, saying that they were obliged to take precautions, as the people of the country were so hostile. Then, taking a card from his case, he wrote a word or two, and gave it to me, saying, "Here is my card; give it to any one you may meet; say I have looked at your papers, *et allez-vous-en!*" I have the card still: "*Von Pape, General Major und Commandeur der 1^{te}. Garde Infanterie Division.*"

After waiting for some time till the troops had marched off, we drove up the hill, and heard from some inhabitants that they had seen the Emperor pass. Approaching the Belgian frontier, we met peasants returning home. They asked our opinion, and we advised them to continue. They had also seen the Emperor. A little farther on we saw a detachment of Prussian Hussars. They are, I believe, the first regiment of that arm, and

are called by the French, *Les Hussards de la Mort*. They are dressed in black, with a death's head and cross-bones on their busbies. They had escorted the Emperor to the frontier; there a Belgian escort had relieved them.

We now arrived at the *douane*. The officers shyly asked us the usual question, "*Rien à déclarer ?*" Before long we joined the hindermost horses of the Emperor's train. The *cortège* was very long: first, his own carriage, a travelling *berline*, then an open carriage; after these followed two or three carriages, something like prison vans, containing members of his staff. Then came *fourgons*, all marked *Maison militaire de l'Empereur*. Next, a number of horses and liveried servants: magnificent animals, I should say over sixteen hands high, mounted by postillions with glazed hats, gay coats, and scarlet waistcoats. Then came hacks, saddle-horses, relays for his carriages, chargers—horses beyond price. A Belgian paper said there were 110 of them.

We came to Bouillon, and, leaving our carriage, walked along the Emperor's train till we arrived at the hotel where we had dined the night before. There the Emperor had alighted with his staff. There was an enormous crowd outside, kept off by Belgian troops. The Emperor came to the window, and the people shouted "*Vive l'Empereur !*" At length we managed to get inside the hotel. Beds? Impossible! The Emperor and his suite occupy them all, and the landlord has been obliged to

turn out the guests already in the house. Dinner? Impossible! The Emperor is about to sit down with twenty; afterwards there is another dinner for fifteen. At any rate, some bread and butter, and wine? While I ate this in a back room, my companions saw the Emperor going down to dinner with his suite. The crowd knew his *menu*—an omelette and *bœuf piqué*.

Our driver came to say that he could find no billet for his horses, and must start homewards at once. We first went to Bertry, a village about six miles from Libramont, and there we found a good supper and clean beds. Everything in the Ardennes was wonderfully cheap. Our supper was excellent; our beds, as I say, clean; our breakfast good; and the charge for three travellers was four francs each. Here we met Belgians who had scoured the frontier. One of them had been at Paliseul, a village full of French prisoners. The woods, he said, were full of horses belonging to French cavalry: they were sold for ten and twenty francs each. He had seen a Frenchman detected in betraying his country to the Prussians for 2½ francs a day. The French tied him to a cart-wheel, and towed him for two days, twisting round and round. He was not yet dead.

News had reached this place of the Emperor's journey, and at first our carriage was taken for his. The Belgian general in command therefore sent to ask me the latest news.

The next morning we engaged a carriage to

take us to Libramont. After driving a short distance, we saw the *piqueurs* of the Emperor on a height behind us, and they were shortly followed by his carriage and train. At Recogne we passed a detachment of Belgian artillery ready to receive him, and soon afterwards we reached our destination. A train was about to start, but we missed it purposely.

The Emperor stopped at a house in the village for breakfast, and some of his servants came to the *café* where I was breakfasting. They were more communicative than any I had met; in fact, we had all abstained from asking any questions of French officers. Many were at Libramont, utterly broken down and wretched. I saw one talking to a lady, who was trying to console him. "Yes," I heard him say, as the tears streamed from his eyes, "but think of the humiliation for France!"

From one of the Emperor's staff I learned that the Prussian artillery was overpowering, and appeared fully to demonstrate the superiority of breech-loading over muzzle-loading cannon. At Sedan there was no cannon of later date than 1815. He added, "If the war continues, it must be one of partisans, and hand to hand. We have no chance against the Prussian artillery."

About two o'clock the Emperor drove up to the station. He seemed well, and his features showed little emotion. He wore a red *képi* embroidered in gold, and decorations on his uniform. A despatch was given him, and, after speaking to some of the

French legation and the Belgian authorities, he sat down and wrote. A special train came for him, and he went off with his suite, and General Chazal, the Belgian commander-in-chief, General von Bezen, a Prussian officer, and Prince von Lynar, also a Prussian.

It was not yet time for us to be off, so we waited at the station, which was full of French officers, and also some Prussians. A carriage drove up, containing the Duke of Manchester, in the undress uniform of the Huntingdonshire Yeomanry, and a gentleman who had been through the campaign with him, Mr. Hartopp. They had been in Sedan on horseback, shortly after ourselves, and had narrowly escaped rough usage, the Duke having been taken for a German. We also saw Mr. Russell, of the *Times*. Poor friends! they are all gone now.

CHAPTER XLII

Another visit to the front—Journey to Briey—Gravelotte—Prussian losses—Siege of Metz—Incidents of the war—Nancy—Visit to Strasburg—Under fire—Saarbrücken.

ABOUT a fortnight later, I left Esch with Mr. Henry James (now Lord James of Hereford), on another visit to the seat of war. We took with us some thousands of cigars and other articles subscribed at Spa for the wounded, and we were furnished with a recommendation from the North-German Minister at Brussels to the Prussian authorities on the line of war.

At Esch, with the assistance of the Luxembourg Ambulance Society, we had obtained, as conveyance, a common country cart with two horses. Planks were nailed for seats across the sides; clean straw was put inside. It contained our boxes, and, in case of need, would have served for a lodging. Our first stage was Briey, distant about twelve or fifteen miles. Before long we crossed the frontier, and at once had evidence of the presence of the Prussian army.

Briey is a small, straggling town on the side of a hill. The houses mostly bore the sign of

the Geneva cross, indicating the presence of wounded. On the walls were posted proclamations, one declaring that armed persons, and those found guilty of any hostile act, would be shot; another called on all persons having arms to deposit them at the Hôtel de Ville; a third inviting any householders, having in their care French wounded who had not yet been tended by Prussian medical men, to notify the fact within twenty-four hours. At the inn we met Mr. Sewell, the head of the English Ambulance. We had been much pleased at Esch with the energy of his colleague, Mr. Syman. Mr. Sewell was about to start with supplies for the different villages, and declared that he was well provided. We then went round all the hospitals. Many of the wounded had been taken away: those left behind had been wounded at the fight of Ste. Marie. The houses were large and airy, the best of them having been taken for hospitals—the Hôtel de Ville, the convent, and some private residences. All the wounded were kindly tended, and with equal care, but the French and Prussians were in separate rooms. Some of the sights were terrible. We were not allowed to visit the hospital devoted to typhus patients. We talked to a French officer, an elderly man and apparently of some rank. He told us that he had been well cared for, and that his leg was healing fast. We asked how he had been treated. He answered, "Perfectly," and said that all his wants were fully supplied.

Leaving Briey, we started for Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes, a distance of about eight miles. It had been the scene of a terrible battle, and was now almost exclusively occupied by hospitals. As we were driving down a hill, about two miles from the village, we met a wagon containing two or three military men in uniform, but with the Johanniter *cross and the brassard*. With them was a civilian, whom I recognised as a German gentleman I had known in London, who had left for the army the moment war was declared. He had been rejected as a volunteer on account of his not having served previously, and had joined the Johanniters. He jumped down at once, and insisted on returning with us to Ste. Marie, where he offered to show us what was best worth seeing, and to lodge us for the night.

Ste. Marie is on the high road to Metz, and situated on a large plateau, the scene of the fearful battle on the 18th of August. There the left wing of the Prussian army, which extended down to Gravelotte and Pont-à-Mousson, had fought the French right, entrenched about three-quarters of a mile farther up, at a village called St. Privat-la-Montagne. The Prussians had had a hard time of it on the plain, being exposed to the telling fire of the *chassepôts* from the French infantry, who were protected by the walls of St. Privat. Until the Prussian artillery was brought up, the losses inflicted by the French were most severe. At length, the heavy field-guns having completely

destroyed the walls, the Saxon cavalry charged the heights of St. Privat with deadly results, and the French were forced within the walls of Metz.

On September 14 the battle of Courcelles had been fought, in which the Prussians acknowledged a loss in killed and wounded of 6000, and on the 16th the battle of Mars-la-Tour took place. In this the Prussians lost 15,600 men and 600 officers. In the battle of Rezonville, on the 18th, the Prussian 2nd Army Corps and the Saxons lost 22,000. These figures were the lowest estimates we received.

We had only time to deposit our heavy baggage at the headquarters of the Ambulance Corps at Ste. Marie before our friend took us forward. We advanced up the high road, all the country round showing traces of battle. Sheds were being built for barracks. Bivouacs were here and there visible. More than once we came on a heap of knapsacks in squares of from forty to fifty feet, fallen from shoulders that would never carry them again. All around were crosses, showing where the dead had been buried by hundreds, and the atmosphere was heavy with the smell of flesh that pierced the meagre earthen coverlet.

We found St. Privat in ruins. Every house was roofless; most of the walls were battered down, and the muddy ground was cumbered with old shoes, shreds of knapsacks, scabbards, broken muskets, and rags. The windows had been taken, when not shattered, to assist in building the

barrack-sheds, and the houses stood roofless and windowless in their grim desolation. We went to the church. In the churchyard the tombstones were shattered and upset. On one or two of them there still hung the wreaths placed on them by the relatives of the dead. Those that remained whole had been carefully ranged by the Prussians against the only wall that was standing. The church was completely unroofed, except a narrow strip of the chancel, where the gilded altar stood intact. The ground was covered with fragments.

At this place the Knight of St. John, who was head of the Ambulance Corps, asked permission *of a general to take us to Bellevue*, a height overlooking Metz. This was at first refused, for fear of attracting shells from the beleaguered; but we were allowed to go, at our own risk, as far as we could along the high road. So on we went, a Lutheran chaplain having joined our party. We arrived at a hamlet called Marengo, where we again communicated with a Prussian guard, who allowed us to go on. The country was covered with brushwood and forest. We endeavoured to penetrate the brushwood on the left, which gave the best view; but two sentries started from the covert and told us they had orders to stop all access. Advancing a little way up the hill, we saw the town of Metz lying in the valley before us, about five miles away. The cathedral stood forth prominently. The strongest of the forts, St. Quentin, was within two

kilomètres. We were within range, but all was quiet. The high fort overlooked us. Between that and the town, on a slope, was the French encampment. An island in the river was also covered with masses of French troops. Between us and the town lay the Prussian army, concealed by the wood, their presence—as was evidenced by the aim of the French artillery—unknown to the besieged. We stood watching for some time, till one or two guns, sounding from different batteries, warned us that the fire might become general; so we turned home to Ste. Marie.

On our return we were shown a sight we had not noticed before. After the battle of St. Privat, 4000 wounded had been laid side by side in the street; and along it was a dark margin, about ten feet in width, clearly marked by the saturation of the blood in the macadamised roadway. We found several Prussian officers employed on ambulance duty; among others, two general officers, Knights of St. John. I have never forgotten the conversation of that evening. There was no boasting, no exultation. The French were spoken of with admiration. Their own losses were mentioned with grief, and with a desire for peace—a peace that should be certain and durable, but without any strong desire for territorial gains. What struck me most was the enthusiastic confidence in their King. His name recurred at constant intervals with expressions of the warmest personal affection.

Our dinner at the house of the ambulance officers was simple—mutton, in a kind of Irish stew, and potatoes. We were glad to be able to add some provisions we had brought with us from Spa. The only luxury they had was a drink—half negus, half punch—which was necessary to sustain them in their labours. They told us anecdotes of the campaign, but especially of their own service. One battalion of the 24th Regiment had lost all its officers, and were led into St. Privat by a sergeant. Of the Guard, 70 officers had been buried at Ste. Marie, and 200 were wounded. Scarcely one noble family of Germany had escaped unscathed. At first, all arrangements with regard to the wounded had been in confusion till a Madame Simon had come to put things in order. Many ladies had come in search of those they had lost—amongst others, the mother and widow of Herr von Behrenfels, and Princess Salm, the widow of the officer who had followed the Emperor Maximilian in his adventures.

Before going to bed, we walked about the streets. From the windows of almost every house we heard the most fearful groans and shrieks. The wounds inflicted by fragments of French shell were awful.

We were shown to our rooms. In some parts of the wall the plaster was broken off; in others, it was spattered with blood. Mattresses were spread for us on the floor, and we had sheets that were not yet required for the ambulance. My

pillow was made of a bundle of worsted stockings, sent by some charitable person for the wounded.

We then visited Nancy, where, all day long, trains were passing. Those going one way were filled with French prisoners and wounded Germans, coming from Metz and Sedan on their way home. Trains going in the opposite direction carried crowds of fresh German soldiers, principally of the *Landwehr*, towards the seat of war. The trains from Germany were all bedecked with green branches. The trucks and carriages were marked in chalk, *Nach Paris*, and the passengers were received with shouts of applause, which were echoed from the trains. On one train going to Germany we saw a large open truck completely filled with the helmets of the dead. The trains travelled very slowly, especially at night, for fear of attacks by *francs-tireurs*, or lest the lines should have been torn up by the peasantry.

Having obtained a pass by means of our permit, we left Nancy in a second-class carriage for Bischweiler, a town about sixteen miles from Strasburg. Here we found an excellent little hotel. In the course of an evening walk we were somewhat startled by the "*Halte-da*" of a Prussian sentry, and the clang of his weapon as he emerged from the thicket where he had been concealed. From this place we prepared to get as near as possible to Strasburg the next day. There was a report of an armistice, confirmed by the fact that no firing had been heard throughout the day.

In the morning, with some difficulty, we found a small wicker cart, drawn by an active little horse, harnessed to the near side of the pole. A leather seat was slung across it, and the driver nailed a seat in front as a box. He was a pedlar from Baden.

After a long drive through pretty country and several large villages, we arrived at Vendenheim, in ordinary times the first station from Strasburg, and now a very important Prussian position. This was the first occasion on which our pass had been looked at except at a station. Here we found the ground covered with field-guns and stores. Sheds were being built round them as barracks for the men, many of whom were still bivouacking under branches or straw huts. Gabions and fascines were *being manufactured*.

Going on towards Strasburg, we found the peasants at their work in the fields, heedless, apparently, of what was going on so near them. Their chief occupation was hop-picking. The guns were booming, occasionally relieved by the sharp crack of rifles. At length a mounted patrol advised us not to go beyond a certain patch of hops standing alone near the road. As we saw peasants working there, however, we advanced farther till we arrived at the fourth *kilomètre* stone out of Strasburg. Here, on the right, we found a large detachment of troops moving under a trench. They advised us not to go farther on the road, but said we might take a road at right angles on the left, which

led to a village called Bischheim. As we advanced along this road, which inclined towards Strasburg, the firing became more rapid, and we saw masses of white smoke blowing over the hill which lay between us and the basin in which the town is hidden. After walking about a mile, we reached Schiltigheim, a suburb adjoining Bischheim. Here we found troops in constant movement, and some wagons we had previously met laden with gabions going to the trenches.

The road now turned again at right angles, leading directly towards Strasburg. We saw houses that had been shelled, their roofs looking something like bricks in a kiln. We asked a sentry how far we might go. He pointed to a very damaged house about a hundred yards ahead. Some Frenchmen, standing near a wine-shop, told us that shells frequently fell in the street; but that, the village being French, the garrison were sparing it as much as possible. They said that the garrison was supposed to be supplied for about five or six months.

We turned to the right, up a small street, where the houses were all more or less injured, and at last came to a house facing the town, where we jumped on a low wall, surmounted by a paling. Before us lay the whole city, the cathedral with its walls damaged, the Prussian batteries pouring forth their shot, and the smoke from the town answering. Suddenly, close to us, we heard the pirr of a shell. We jumped down, then up again

to take one more look, and found that in a dip of the garden, not forty feet below us, was a Prussian battery. We made the best of our way off --not too soon. When we were only a few yards away, other shells flew over the opposite houses, and fell in the main street. Later on we found that the house where we had stood was just over the first parallel, at the very point from which the most deadly fire had been poured on the town. Between it and Strasburg, not a single house was still standing two days later, when the surrender took place. The gunners who had aimed at us must naturally have thought that we were reconnoitring the position. My companion learnt afterwards that the residents were not satisfied with the surrender ; notwithstanding their sufferings, they were quite ready to continue ; but, from a military point of view, it was quite justifiable. All bore testimony to the good conduct of the Prussian soldiery.

Two days later we visited Saarbrücken. The station still bore signs of bombardment, though *these were fast being repaired*. Near the heights we saw the grave of 311 killed. We brought away some broken pieces of shell from the spot where the Prince Imperial had watched the battle with his father. At Saarbrücken we met Mr. Charles Winn, a son of Lord Headley, who had followed the whole campaign, and gave us the most interesting account of his experiences.

CHAPTER XLIII

Visit to Baden—Siege of Strasburg—Destruction of the city—Surrender
—Visit to the trenches—Defiles in the Vosges—Toul—Account of
siege—Incidents at Toul—Return to Nancy—Rumours of peace
—End of journey.

EARLY in October, accompanied by Mr. Danby and Mr. Alfred Seymour, I left Spa for Mayence. Our passports were not even asked for at Herbesthal, the frontier, nor was our baggage examined. Here and there we saw the brassard, and occasionally some soldiers. At Cologne, the trees of the avenues round the town were all cut down; but we saw no further signs of war within Prussian territory, except a convoy of French prisoners at Mayence.

The next day, we took the train for Baden. We had crowds of fellow-passengers. Strasburg was then a resort for all the sight-seekers in Germany, and was compensating Baden for its ill-luck in having had all its gambling-tables shut since July. On the road there was a little news: a telegram was sold by hawkers of the sortie from Metz on the 8th, and we learnt from two English travellers that the Duke of Nassau, whose death was reported, was alive and still at Frankfort.

We left Baden very early in the morning to try and escape the great crowd bound for Strasburg by the later train. Our precaution, however, was not of much use, for the train was late and very full. In our carriage were two German gentlemen, one from Cologne, the other a Strasburg resident, whose family had been at Baden throughout the siege, while he himself had remained to look after his business. He gave us the most interesting details. Seven hundred poor people had taken refuge in a malt-factory, the safest place they could find; but even there the shells had fallen incessantly. On one occasion thirty-seven fell in twenty minutes. There had been no lack of provisions during the siege, except meat and milk. Horse-flesh took the place of the former. The first bombs were fired on August 13, and from the 23rd the fire was continuous until the day of the surrender, September 28. At first, every kind of false telegram was circulated of French successes, both at Paris and Metz; but the army was quite disorganised, and the soldiers, who for many years *had committed unpunished outrages on the inhabitants*, got drunk and blundered. The Mobiles only attended when they liked. There was no artillery, except some marines who had been sent to man gunboats on the Rhine, under Admiral Excelmans and Captain Dupetit Thouars, and these men, about forty in number, worked night and day, and endeavoured to break in some of the young Mobiles to man the guns. Every one spoke

well of these men and their two officers. The Admiral ranked as high as General Urich in the opinion of Strasburg. The inhabitants differed as to the surrender, but it became necessary at last in order to prevent an assault, which, by the laws of war, justifies pillage.

In reply to an enquiry as to the feelings of the town towards the Prussians, my informant, who was very fair, told me that the Protestants had been far from averse to the Prussians, but that the Roman Catholics were strongly against them. The latter had been told that the first act of the Prussians, if victorious, would be to force them to become Protestant. The whole population, however, was indignant at the town having been uselessly bombarded, and with incendiary bombs. I asked whether this had not been done in retaliation for the bombardment of Kehl, but this was denied. The bombardment of Strasburg by the Prussians had preceded the bombardment of Kehl, which was begun as an act of retaliation.

At Kehl, we hired a cart to take us to Strasburg, accompanied by the two German gentlemen we had met in the train. Then began a scene of desolation—whole streets of houses completely or half destroyed, heaps of bricks, tiles and stones. The railway station was almost in ruins. A great portion of the bridge of boats was destroyed; but part was repaired, though on a smaller scale, for traffic. The first portion of the railway bridge on the Kehl side, made for turning,

was much damaged : the rest, however, was intact. Near the bridge was a plank-covered passage, through which travellers from France were obliged to pass, to be disinfected of the rinderpest.

On the Strasburg side of the river everything was ruined. Trees were laid low, and gardens devastated. Before reaching Strasburg we saw the remains of the citadel, literally razed to the ground, and then we entered the city through *la porte d'Austerlitz*.

The town of Strasburg, to use a rough simile, was somewhat in the shape of a leg of mutton. The broad end was to the west. This wide portion, called the Canton Ouest, which was cut off by a canal from the rest of the city, was entirely destroyed, scarcely one stone resting on another. In the Canton Nord, bounded by the ramparts of the Porte des Juifs, the havoc was equally terrible, and extended southwards, overwhelming almost every public building in the town : churches, theatre, library, *préfecture*, arsenal—all were thoroughly destroyed. The cross on the top of the cathedral was battered on one side, and hung obliquely. The cathedral walls were damaged, and the outer roof entirely burnt. Most of the old glass had been removed, but the remainder was shattered.

On our arrival we drove to the Hôtel de Paris, but we found it monopolised by the Governor-General, Count Bismarck-Bohlen, and his staff. We could not even get food ; so, leaving our bags,

we started with a guide to see the town. Our first care was to take tickets at the *Mairie*; these are sold for the benefit of the poor. No one, however, was allowed to visit the ramparts, on account of the unexploded projectiles still lying there. We were told that not even the Emperor of Russia would receive permission. Notices were posted calling on the inhabitants to advise the authorities of any of these projectiles found in their houses, that they might be taken away by competent hands.

Our first visit was to lunettes 52 and 53, on the taking of which the town surrendered. These were fired on by the batteries from Schiltigheim, on the north, till they were abandoned. A footway was then made with gabions and fascines over the moat, the deserted lunettes occupied, and a breach made in the ramparts. Resistance was therefore hopeless. An officer who explained the operations told us that while the footway was being made, the French artillery opened fire transversely on the Prussians at work. The guns, however, were so badly served that all the shells flew over them, and during the whole night only one man was hurt. The lunette once occupied, a trench was dug in the direction of the rampart. When that was completed, white flags were displayed from every part of the fortifications.

Returning from the lunettes, we went to the Hôtel de la Maison Rouge, where we found dinner and were promised accommodation. The *table*

d'hôte was crowded with, I may almost say, hundreds; amongst whom our Cologne companion found no less than twelve of his fellow-townsmen. After dinner, we visited the citadel, and on the way there, as well as within its walls, we found the same wholesale destruction. Through the whole city it may be said that no street escaped injury of some kind.

After seeing the citadel, I took a carriage to visit the trenches, and to find the place at Schiltigheim, where Mr. James and I had been exposed to some danger in watching the siege about two days before the surrender. To arrive at this point, I had to traverse the trenches, but I found the spot without much difficulty.

The suburbs showed a destruction equal to that of the town. Houses, trees and gardens were one mass of confusion and rubbish. The inhabitants of the town complained that Schiltigheim, as being the residence of rich merchants, was spared, in the first instance, by the besieged. Had it been destroyed before the attack, it would have deprived the Prussians of the cover from which they directed their fire.

At Strasburg, we made the acquaintance of a Johanniter Knight on his way to Pont-à-Mousson, and, with him, the next day we took a carriage to Vendenheim, the nearest station to the town. There we took first-class tickets to Nancy, but all the carriages were full, and we were obliged to travel in a luggage-van which contained the mail-

bags. On our way we passed several trains full of soldiers, and some laden with the heavy siege-artillery that was being massed round Paris. When we came to the Vosges we were struck by the sight of Prussian soldiers helping peasant women in tending their cows.

Long tunnels frequently interrupted the road, and it seemed inconceivable that the French could have given up these defiles without a struggle. At Meaux the destruction of a tunnel had greatly interfered with the approach of the Prussians. A small force in the Vosges, with the connivance of the peasantry, after blowing up the tunnels might have held the largest Prussian army at bay for months. The Prussians evidently appreciated the value of these positions. At every village was a strong force ; patrols were frequently passing the line, and the mouths of the tunnels were guarded.

A few stations before Lunéville, two or three Saxons joined us in the van, and told us that some days before a severe fight had taken place with a strong party of *francs-tireurs*. The Prussian troops had been surprised without ammunition, but had beaten off their adversaries with stones. We learnt that, on more than one occasion, these irregular troops had fired on the trains. This circumstance accounted for the very strong detachments along the line.

From Nancy we went to Toul. The approach to the town bore the usual vestiges of war : gardens laid waste, houses in ruins, and trees felled. The

way from the station to the gate lay through what was once an avenue of fine planes, then all cut down. A first glance at the town gave the key to the whole siege. High over the city hangs a hill called St. Michel. Every one knew the weakness of this position, yet it had never been fortified. There the Prussians placed the batteries by which the town was bombarded and taken.

After engaging rooms, we went to see the town and the cathedral. Toul was once a bishopric, known as *le riche évêché*, from having in its jurisdiction 1700 parishes. Gradually the erection of sees at Nancy and Verdun diminished its importance, and the diocese was abolished by the Concordat.

The cathedral, which is very beautiful, suffered greatly in the Revolution of 1793, when much of the sculpture on its walls was damaged. In the Franco-Prussian War it was also injured. A window in one of the twin towers was completely destroyed, and the rosace over the principal entrance, celebrated for its beauty, did not escape injury. Some of the glass, too, was much damaged. The church of St. Gengulphus, or St. Gengoult, which we saw the next day, had, however, suffered far more seriously. Its rosace had been entirely blown away, and a portion of its beautiful cloister was injured. From what we learnt, the Prussian authorities were much annoyed at the damage. During the beginning of the siege, some young artillery officers made practice on the towers of the

churches. Towards the end, however, some older men arrived, stopped this wantonness and rebuked the offenders. The town itself did not present so much appearance of injury as might have been expected, owing to the shells having mostly fallen on the roofs and damaged the houses internally. Some were bulging out, and had to be supported by beams across the street. All were being repaired. The severest dilapidation we saw was in the civil hospital near the gate. Here one side of the quadrangle had been utterly ruined, including the chapel and its organ. Near the hospital stood a large number of cannon; but, on attempting to look at them, we were warned off by the sentry.

The history of the siege of Toul was a curious one. The day before it began, a general with 1500 men—500 of whom were artillery—left the place, thinking the defence hopeless. The garrison then consisted of about 120 soldiers of the line, some pensioners, and 2000 of the Mobile. With this force, the inhabitants insisted on holding out, the guns being chiefly managed by the pensioners and the Mobile. At first the Prussians, thinking the town almost defenceless, made an imprudent advance, and incurred considerable loss from a sortie of the garrison. The commander surrendered only to avoid the heavy bombardment of the town; but many of the civil inhabitants were averse to capitulation. One woman told us that she had become quite accustomed to the bombardment, and regretted that her fellow-citizens had

surrendered so soon. She considered herself more likely to make a good soldier than her husband. "*Je n'ai pas d'enfants, voyez-vous, et je ne m'aime pas trop. Ainsi, je ne crains pas la mort, et le danger m'amuse.*" We particularly enquired of her how the Prussian soldiers behaved. She replied that nothing could be better than their conduct; it was far superior to that of the French soldiers.

I remember seeing a curious phenomenon in one of the shops at Toul. Some wax lucifer matches, exposed in a window during the bombardment, had entirely lost their phosphorus: the ends, though unexploded, had become quite white.

A Mecklenburg officer, whom we had met in the train, had taken us to the hotel where we engaged rooms. His civility, though well meant, did not add to the warmth of our reception. When we returned after seeing the town, we found our places all arranged together for the *table d'hôte*. At the end of the room was a table between two windows, at which a Frenchman was seated. During dinner he said not a word, but put his face in his hands, gradually edging round his chair so as to turn his back on us. I wished to explain to him that we were not Prussians, and, when asking for wine, I therefore said to the waitress, "*Avez-vous du vin sec? Quant à nous autres en Angleterre—*" At the last word, the Frenchman wheeled round in his chair, and cried to the maid, "*Sec, Marie, du vin sec, voyez-vous, pour ces messieurs,*" and during the rest of dinner

he was full of attention. He interrupted the conversation once or twice to narrate occasions on which the garrison got the better of the besieged—anecdotes which the Prussian officer took very good-naturedly.

Another curious incident marked our visit to Toul. While taking our tickets at the station, a Government courier came into the office to have his way-bill signed. He told the officer in charge that he had arrived with a special train, conveying a Prussian officer and a French general from Metz, to treat for the surrender of that fortress. Standing in the station was an engine with a single carriage, containing the two officers in question. I accidentally saw the French general, who was, I believe, General Boyer, as he was endeavouring to conceal himself behind the blinds.

The next day we returned to Nancy. The town was not so full as on our former visit, and we found very good accommodation at the Hôtel de France. After our arrival, twenty-two people were refused admittance. Most of the inmates were Prussian officers sent on billets given by the *Maire*. During my previous visit Nancy had no newspapers, but this time I found the *Courrier du Bas Rhin*, as well as a *Gazette*, which contained various proclamations and a number of extracts from French papers, all tending to discredit the Republican Government, and in favour of the late Imperial *régime*.

The current belief then was that the King of

Prussia would not make peace with a Republican Government. The Germans in general seemed to have a horror of Republicanism. The importation of Garibaldi into France had roused a very bitter feeling. *There was no doubt*, at this time, that great dissensions were going on between the original garrison of Metz and the force under Bazaine. The former, numbering about 30,000, still in the town, recognised the Republic; the latter, about 70,000, encamped within the outer circle of the fortress, refused this recognition.

The consideration presenting itself, then, was the extent of annexation. What would France yield? With how little would Prussia be satisfied? The Prussian army round Metz was ill with dysentery, and a certain admixture of typhus. A thousand men daily, it was said, were being invalided, and must be replaced by others. The French, on the other hand, were desirous of pursuing their vocations unmolested. Peace was the object and wish of Lorraine. I was told more than once on my journey that the people were indifferent to the form of government, provided they were secure of peace.

The intentional inconvenience of the trains gave us some difficulty in leaving Nancy. We therefore took a carriage to Pont-à-Mousson, so as to catch the train running on the railway recently constructed by the Prussians from Pont-à-Mousson to Remilly, where it joins the regular line from Metz to Saarbrücken. After a short stay at Pont-à-

Mousson, we thought it better to drive on to Remilly. The road was full of long files of troops, convoys of ammunition, crosses marking graves, encampments, felled trees, shattered houses ; while, for some portion of the road, we not only heard but saw the bombardment of Metz. The shots were principally fired from Fort St. Quentin, which overhangs the town on the north-west, but can be seen from the south.

At Remilly the train was crowded with soldiers, private passengers, and persons connected with the army. We were allowed to sit on the guard's look-out at the top of one of the carriages, our bags being placed in a precarious position on a ledge beneath. We performed the journey to Saarbrücken, about thirty miles, in something under five hours.

CHAPTER XLIV

Boscombe estate—Sir Percy Shelley—Theatricals—Canvassing Christchurch—Dissolution of Parliament—Return from abroad—Elected Member for Christchurch—"Faggot vote" at St. Albans—Visit to Hatfield—Lord Salisbury and Mr. Disraeli—Entering House of Commons—Parliamentary officials—Dean Milman's stories—Cosmopolitan Club.

I THEN began my exertions to repair my electioneering mishaps. From Lord Malmesbury I had purchased a small building property near the sea, in the neighbourhood of Bournemouth, and had there built a house, which I began to inhabit in 1868. I then laid out the rest of the land for building. Several houses were built, to which were given the names of my friends, in a road called Owls Road, after *The Owl*. One of the terraces was called Roumelia Terrace. There was a good deal of the principle of *sic vos non vobis* about the plan, as it succeeded admirably for the benefit of others, not mine.

My land adjoined that of Sir Percy Shelley, a son of the poet, who had a charming house in the woods of Boscombe. He was a remarkably gifted man, though he had never exerted himself to make any continuous effort. A theatre was built

at his house, where plays of different kinds were constantly acted. Sir Percy himself generally arranged the music, at which he was an expert. I recollect that on one occasion *The Lighthouse* was given, the principal part—that of the lighthouse-keeper—being enacted by Mr. Palgrave Simpson, whose methods were very melodramatic. Poor man! in one monologue, during which he was supposed to see blood everywhere, he was much put out by noticing that the call-boy in the wings was rolling with laughter on the floor. When the curtain fell, Mr. Simpson went to the boy, in a violent passion, and asked why he had been laughing. The boy replied that it was because he had imitated a drunken man so well.

The borough of Christchurch was a peculiar one. Previously to my going there, the constituency had consisted of only 400; but, with the growth of Bournemouth, it had been very much enlarged, and in my time there were about 1600 electors. It has now, I believe, almost as many thousands. The borough covered a great extent of land from near Ringwood to the immediate neighbourhood of Poole. When a Reform Bill passed, prohibiting the use, by candidates or their agents, of conveyances to take voters to the poll, the agents of Christchurch and Poole hit upon a notable expedient. The agent at Poole conveyed the electors to Christchurch, and the Christchurch agent conveyed the electors to Poole. This plan, however, only lasted one election, I fear.

The borough of Christchurch, covering, as I believe it did, an area of between thirty and forty *square miles*, comprised a large variety of interests. There was the building interest at Bournemouth. There were also fishermen and agriculturists; and, to meet the requirements of this large population, the laundry interest had great developments.

It was very odd to see, in the list of voters, the preponderance of Saxon names, such as Troke, Burry, and Osborne.

Whenever I was at Boscombe, where I passed the greater part of my time when not travelling abroad, I spent days and nights canvassing the electors. On one occasion we had a great dinner at Bournemouth, which Lord Salisbury was good enough to attend.

I was abroad at the time of the sudden dissolution of Parliament in 1874, which was attributed, justly or otherwise, to the disinclination of Mr. Gladstone to acknowledge that his seat was vacant, owing to his assumption of a second office. I *happened to be at the station at Florence* when the news came, and started home immediately. The journey was made pleasant by the companionship of Mr. and Mrs. Percy Mitford. He was going to stand for some constituency in the north of England. On arriving at Dover, I found that there would be no train to take me down to Christchurch that night. I therefore telegraphed for a special to Southampton, and arrived very early next day at Christchurch. There I found that my wife had

already begun a weary canvass, so I was fortunately enabled to recover from the fatigue of my journey. The election came on almost immediately, and was not postponed, as on a former occasion, for several weeks. On February 4, 1874, I was elected Member for Christchurch, and I held the seat till 1880, when I was returned for Portsmouth.

Every one felt that Mr. Disraeli should at once be made Prime Minister. This was beyond a doubt, for the large majority of the Conservatives was elected chiefly on his popularity.

Immediately after my election I was called upon to go into Hertfordshire, to St. Albans, in which district I owned what, I regret to say, was a "faggot vote." On arriving at St. Albans, I received a message from a gentleman of influence in the county, who had been the author of my vote as well as of many others, asking me to come to luncheon with him. The messenger said that this gentleman was very anxious that I should not miss his luncheon as I had done on the previous occasion of a by-election.

I told him that I had never been at St. Albans before. He replied that his employer had sent him up to invite me, with others, to luncheon on that occasion, and that he had been told I had voted and gone away. The whole story being unfounded, it was evident that I had been personated.

After voting, I at once went off to Hatfield, where Lord Salisbury had just arrived. Previous differences between him and Mr. Disraeli had

raised doubts as to whether he would join the new Government. I was happy to find, after talking with Lord Salisbury for some time at luncheon, that he had come home on account of the crisis, and that there was no doubt that he would join the Government. He asked me what I thought of the matter. I replied that I knew his age, as it was about the same as my own—he was then forty-four—and that I reckoned the Conservative Government would remain in power for six years, when he would be fifty. The Liberals would then come in, and probably remain in another six years. Therefore, if he refused to join Mr. Disraeli's Government, he would not only damage the Conservative cause then, but would probably spend twelve years of his life without being able to take any influential part in public affairs.

As the Liberals came in in 1880, and did not retire from office till 1885, my previsions seem to have been pretty accurate.

I do not recollect ever having felt so really gratified as I did when entering the House of Commons for the first time. I find that gratification rarely exceeds the first occasion of its occurrence. I had for so long been trying to get into Parliament, and my disappointments had been so great, that success was doubly satisfactory. A further source of gratification lay in the fact that I entered Parliament with all my old friends in office.

The Speaker at the time of my election—Mr.

Brand—was, I think, the pleasantest man I ever came across, and admirably adapted to the office he held. He seemed to have every quality required in a Speaker. Being the heir to a barony founded in 1321, and to which he subsequently succeeded as 23rd Baron, he possessed all the polish of a great gentleman, in addition to the kindness which a man can blend with great self-respect. Having been formerly a Whip of the Liberal Party, he understood—to use an ordinary expression—how to “pull the ropes,” and he could assert the authority of the Chair without wounding susceptibilities. He appeared to sympathise with every one, and to endeavour to forward their wishes. The last time that I saw him was in 1890, at Cannes, when I had returned from Persia after a severe illness.

The Clerk at the Table, as he is called, was Sir Erskine May, a man of great Parliamentary learning and authority, who was most willing to give his assistance whenever it was needed. His work on Parliamentary practice will never, I think, be obsolete. The Clerk at the Table holds a very important post, as he is naturally the adviser of Mr. Speaker on all questions of usage and order.

It is narrated of Sir Denis Le Marchant, who was appointed to this post from another career, that on one occasion great disorder arose in the House. Mr. Speaker called him up, and said, “What do you think should be done, Sir Denis?”

The Clerk at the Table shook his head, saying, "I think, sir, you must use the greatest caution," and he immediately left the House by the door at the back of the Speaker's Chair.

The Second Clerk at the Table was Mr. Palgrave, a son of the writer. He was also a man of great knowledge, and had written a book on *Order and the Duties of Chairmen at Public Meetings*, which, I believe, has been most serviceable. The Third Clerk was Mr. Milman, the Dean's son, who had married the sister of a friend of mine—Mr. Hanbury, the Member for Tamworth—and from him I also obtained great assistance, though subsequently, I fear, he was rather formalised at some of the proceedings of members of the Fourth Party.

I had met Dean Milman, with his wife, at Bowood, and had much enjoyed his society. He told me many interesting historical anecdotes. Frederick the Great, who had received pecuniary assistance for his wars from the English Government, nevertheless, on more than one occasion, made himself very unpleasant. At length, there being a vacancy in the Mission to London, he had sent a singularly disagreeable General, risen from the ranks, who had very rough and offensive manners, to fill the post. Some time afterwards the King spoke to Sir Hugh Elliot, our representative at Berlin, on the subject. Sir Hugh was always ready with an answer to the King, so much so that, whenever the two were talking, every one

used to gather round, as near as possible, to hear the Minister's replies.

On this occasion Frederick the Great enquired, "*Que dit-on à Londres du général . . . ?*"

The British Minister replied, bowing profoundly, "*Digne représentant de Votre Majesté !*"

Dean Milman also told me that, after advancing a great deal of money to Frederick the Great, England was obliged to withdraw from this constant expenditure, and the King said to Sir Hugh Elliot, "*Eh bien, Monsieur Elliot, l'Angleterre est maintenant sans aucun allié sur le continent, excepté le bon Dieu.*"

The Minister replied, "*Oui, Sire, mais le bon Dieu est un allié qui ne demande pas de subside.*"

Shortly after my entrance into Parliament I was elected a member of the Cosmopolitan Club, a society which met every Sunday and Wednesday. The place of gathering had been the studio of Mr. Watts and Mr. Phillip, the painters, who had left some frescoes on the walls. The Club had practically been founded by the late Sir Robert Morier during his stay in London, previously to his entering the Diplomatic Service, and while he held an appointment in the Education Department. He used to invite his friends weekly to spend those two evenings at his lodgings in Mount Street. On his leaving England for some diplomatic post, the friends who had been in the habit of frequenting his rooms formed themselves into a club to continue the meetings, and accepted the offer of the

use of the rooms from the tenants, later on taking them entirely for themselves. The Club was very much sought after, and contained most names prominent in social and literary life. Unfortunately, it has recently been dissolved.

CHAPTER XLV

Characteristics of Members of Parliament—Contemporaries in the House—Mr. Labouchere—"Tom Collins"—Irish Party—Different Members.

WHAT strikes a Member of Parliament on first entering the House is the great courtesy with which he is treated by other Members, whatever their party leanings may be. It is very rare for political hostility to engender personal dislike. In every Member there seem to be two natures—his human nature and his Parliamentary nature; and, except in times of great excitement, anything like personal antipathy is not only suppressed, but does not seem to exist. One of the great examples of this was the late Lord Lansdowne, who, though a strong politician, never allowed party feeling to actuate his private actions. I recollect hearing him say to one of his guests that he was very anxious about Lord Derby, who was ill, as he was one of his oldest friends. Political opposition would never be taken as an adequate excuse for personal injury or discourtesy.

One Member of the House of Commons in my time was a Welsh gentleman, called Morgan Lloyd.

He was a barrister of some eminence, who used to delight "Gossett's Room" with Welsh recitations which nobody understood, but which produced a remarkable effect. It was said that Baron Bramwell, when presiding over the circuit in Wales, was asked by Mr. Morgan Lloyd to be allowed to address the jury in Welsh, as none of them understood English. Baron Bramwell assented, but had near him on the Bench some one who translated the speech as it was delivered. This was Mr. Morgan Lloyd's peroration in favour of the prisoner :—

"What I tell you is truth and justice. And," *pointing to Baron Bramwell*, "when that old man in a wig tells you anything to the contrary, you must believe me and not believe him."

Another Member of Parliament was Mr. Arthur Arnold—a man of great literary ability and a most earnest politician. Mr. Labouchere used to sit next to him, one place nearer the Speaker, and, when Mr. Arnold had sheaves of amendments to bills, Mr. Labouchere used to pick them up and move them in his own name.

Mr. Arthur Arnold was a great traveller, and amongst other places he visited Tehran, which was the central exchange for the Indian Government and the Indo-European Telegraphs. The latter conveyed messages to Europe. It was one amusement of the telegraph clerks, in their hours of leisure, to converse by wire with others in distant places. On one occasion Mr. Arthur Arnold went to the

telegraph-office, and asked the clerks with what place they were conversing. They told him with Tiflis, and asked if they could say anything for him.

He replied, "Just say that Arthur Arnold is here."

In a moment or two came the answer from Tiflis, "And who the h— is Arthur Arnold?"

Mr. Labouchere was, I think, the wittiest man in the House of Commons. I had known him for many years, and, though at times he was unpopular owing to his somewhat extreme views, I, like all who knew him, always felt a great friendship for him. His wit was clever, though sometimes perhaps a little elaborate; but it was always good-natured. He had formerly been in the Diplomatic Service, and several anecdotes are told of him when in this employment.

Once, while still an unpaid attaché, he was directed to go to Constantinople. He applied to have his expenses paid. There are certain rules with regard to the payment of travelling expenses, and his request was refused on the ground that it was nearly two years since he had been attached to any post at all. He started; but some weeks elapsed, and nothing was heard of him. The Foreign Office telegraphed half over Europe. I recollect they telegraphed to Corfu. At last Mr. Labouchere was found at Dresden. On being asked why he had not gone to his post, he replied that, as the Foreign Office had refused him his

expenses, he had been obliged to take the journey on foot, and that at length, exhausted and footsore, he was forced to recover himself at Dresden.

When Mr. Labouchere was at Constantinople, another curious thing happened. There was a nice old man who had for years been employed in the chancery of the Legation. His name was Count Pisani, and there were others of the family in the Dragomanic Corps. Count Pisani was of Italian origin. His official designation, if I recollect right, was that of Head of the Diplomatic Chancery, and it was his duty to distribute the work which was to be done by the different attachés. He was very much liked, but he was rather testy by nature, and he once got angry with Mr. Labouchere, who *wrote a formal complaint* to Sir Henry Bulwer, our Ambassador, ending with these words: "I wish to ask your Excellency whether members of this Embassy are to be treated in this manner by a decayed Polish nobleman."

Sir Henry Bulwer, who disliked squabbles of all kinds, responded by asking Mr. Labouchere to dinner. Both the chief and his subordinate made themselves very agreeable. After dinner, Mr. Labouchere asked whether he might make some alteration in the letter he had written, and to this the Ambassador gladly assented, and returned the letter to him. Mr. Labouchere got hold of a pen, and ran it through the word "Polish," substituting for it "Venetian." He then gave the letter back to the Ambassador.

It was told of him, when attaché at Frankfort, that he was once playing whist against a very high German functionary, sitting on his left. Mr. Labouchere led a small card. The lead turned out so well that he won the rest of the tricks. The Minister said, "Well, Mr. Labouchere, you won the game by leading that card; but there was no earthly reason, according to the rules of the game, why you should have done so. You have therefore won the rubber by accident."

Mr. Labouchere said, "I had a very good reason for leading that card." The Minister asked what it was. "We will have a bet," said Mr. Labouchere, "that my reason was a good one." The bet was therefore made that the lead had been justified by the rules of the game.

"Now, Mr. Labouchere, what was your reason?"

He replied, "I had seen your hand."

Mr. Labouchere brought this grim humour with him into the House of Commons. One day, while sitting in the smoking-room, a card was brought to him from some one who wished to obtain a seat in the gallery. When he returned from seeing his visitor, another Member said to him, "I suppose it was a supporter?" Mr. Labouchere replied, "Do you think that any elector who had money enough for the journey to town and back, and for stopping in London, would ever be such a fool as to vote for me?"

An eccentric member of the House of Commons of that time was Mr. Thomas Collins—commonly

known as Tom Collins—Member for Knaresborough, and a thorough Yorkshireman, who secured his return more through personal popularity than anything else. He never spent much on his elections, and used practically to act as his own agent. This he did in a very economical manner. At one of his last elections, to avoid the expense of advertising, he summoned his meetings by means of the town-crier. On one occasion, however, he found this functionary fast asleep, overcome by his labours—or from other causes. Mr. Collins was not at a loss. Taking the crier's bell, he went round the town himself, crying, "Oyez ! oyez ! oyez ! This evening Mr. Tom Collins will address the electors !" The latter, much impressed with this proof of their candidate's skill, flocked to the meeting, saying, "Our Tom has been crying for himself."

When the Conservative Party was in opposition, my immediate friends and I sat on the Opposition benches below the gangway, close to the seats occupied by the Irish Party. I myself never could understand the hostility felt against them on political grounds ; for, however much we may have opposed their views, they were perfectly entitled to hold them, as any Member is entitled to his particular opinions. I never took part in any violent measures against them. They were always courteous and friendly, and their conversation was full of humour.

Two well-known members of the Irish Party were Captain O'Shea and The O'Gorman-Mahon, a man of the most courteous manners, who had seen

a great deal of the world. Captain O'Shea once told us the following story in the smoking-room.

Not long after the election which returned the two colleagues, they received an application from one of their supporters to be recommended for a place in the Irish Constabulary. As he appeared to be fully qualified for the post, the two Members repeatedly did their best to forward his wishes; but, for some reason or another which seemed mysterious to them, they never could get the authorities to make the appointment. On one occasion, when visiting the place they represented, they met the constituent in question down a by-street. The O'Gorman-Mahon beckoned to him, and told him that, though every argument had been used, they could not obtain a satisfactory reply from the authorities with regard to the Constabulary appointment. In fact, there appeared to be some cause for the refusal to employ him, which was not mentioned. The O'Gorman went on to ask his constituent whether he could think of any reason for this extraordinary determination. The man replied that he knew of nothing, and seemed to be cudgelling his brains to discover a possible cause. At last, scratching his head, he said, "Sure, it can't be because I was once put on my trial for murder?"

There was another Member of Parliament, a young Englishman of prepossessing appearance, who spoke very well. He once came to the House, and delivered a speech of the most impressive character,

which seemed to mark an epoch in oratory. This he did without any hesitation or reticence, and the speech was remarkable for its diction and force of argument. Unfortunately for him, some Members of the House—persistent students of Parliamentary rhetoric—discovered that it was, word for word, one of Mr. Canning's. The young orator had taken the pains to copy it out and commit it to memory.

For one of the Bradlaugh divisions, several Irish Members came over. One of them, in particular, generally consumed more than was quite good for him, and both sides of the House deputed a Member to look after him. They took him to the bar, where he got the better of both of them. A Whip of the Liberal Party endeavoured to take him into the Government lobby. He was on the point of entering when a stalwart Home Ruler, who on this particular occasion was acting with the Conservatives, took him up bodily on his shoulder, and conveyed him through the Opposition lobby. Here he protested loudly that he was being forced to vote against his will, and that he would complain to the Speaker. We all deprecated his doing so, whereupon he said, "At least some one should apologise." Every one in the lobby then went up to him, one after the other, and apologised, shaking his hand. He was as good as his word, voting on the side desired ; but when he came into the House he sat upon the Treasury Bench, and looked like a spread eagle.

There was one Member of the House of

Commons who was rather loud in his jocosity, especially when he had been dining more freely than usual. On one occasion, in the room of Mr. Gossett, the Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms, where Members used to meet and smoke, he attacked Mr. Mundella, who had a remarkable nose, like the Duke of Wellington's. He said, "You call yourself a statesman! Why, twelve noses would not make you a statesman!"

Once, during a debate, an Irish Member made use of the expression, "Send him to hell or Connaught." The Speaker intervened, saying the phrase ought not to be used in the House of Commons. The Member in question apologised, saying that he had only employed the words as a quotation. Some days later, the Member who had made the remark to Mr. Mundella, quoted above, attacked another Irish Member, saying that if the priest of the parish met him, he would tell him that he had made a d——d fool of himself. The Speaker naturally called him to order. The Member replied, "Sir, it was a quotation."

Amongst others whom I knew was Mr. Pope Hennessy, an Irishman, a very original genius, and popular with all parties. He had been returned to Parliament as a Home Ruler, but was, at the same time, a strong Conservative, who always voted with the Conservative Party on matters in which Home Rule was not concerned. He was often employed by them in negotiations, and these communications ended in his being appointed Governor

of one or two places. The last was, I think, Mauritius. His anecdotes were numerous, and most amusing. He told us that, being a bachelor and still quite a young man, a constituent of his, sending a son to London, asked Mr. Hennessy to give him a helping hand. He therefore obtained for him an invitation to a ball, to which he took the young man. On the way, he gave his companion some instructions. The latter asked what he should say if he did not properly hear the name when introduced to any one. Mr. Pope Hennessy replied, "Oh, you can always say, 'I beg your pardon. I did not quite catch your name.'" Shortly after arriving at the ball, the young man saw Mr. Hennessy talking to a very pretty girl, and asked to be introduced to her. Mr. Hennessy did so, and turned away. He then overheard the youth say, "I beg your pardon, Miss. I did not quite catch your name." She answered, "Ramsbotham." He said, "Shure, Miss, you're joking?"

I knew very well the late Mr. Beresford Hope, an able and amiable, though somewhat prejudiced man, who had a violent repulsion for Lord Beaconsfield. He was married to a sister of Lord Salisbury's, and had the greatest admiration for him. His niece had married Sir Arthur Hayter, one of the Liberal Whips, a very popular man, who has now been created Lord Haversham. His father before him was also a Whip. Though Sir George Trevelyan and Mr. George Lefevre were on the

other side, I frequently saw them, and knew them well. One Member of Parliament, for whom I had the greatest sympathy, was the late Lord Arthur Russell. He and Lord Odo were the sons of a very remarkable woman, Lady William Russell, whose eldest son, Mr. Hastings Russell, subsequently became Duke of Bedford. Lord Odo Russell is mentioned more than once in the course of these pages. He ended his career as Ambassador at Berlin. He and his brother had been brought up in Germany, and had a thorough knowledge of the language. Another friend of mine in Parliament was Sir Richard Wallace.

Two prominent members of the House of Commons were Mr. George Bentinck—commonly known as Big Ben—and Sir Rainald Knightley. They were both typical members of the old school—great Tories, and with those courtly, high-bred manners which are unfortunately disappearing in the rough-and-tumble of the present day. They used to sit on the front bench below the gangway, and Sir Rainald sat there for a while after the formation of what was called the Fourth Party. Some time after Lord Randolph had made his mark, I asked Sir Rainald why he had abandoned his place. He replied, “I found it getting a little too hot for me.”

Though in manner remarkably courteous and indulgent, Mr. Bentinck had imbibed a great personal distaste—one may almost say dislike—of Lord Beaconsfield, which he lost no opportunity

of expressing. This was too well known to be concealed, and a friend once asked the Prime Minister if he could account for the great prejudice Mr. Bentinck had against him. Lord Beaconsfield answered, "It is a perfect mania."

A great contrast to him was his namesake, Mr. George Cavendish-Bentinck, the son of Lord Frederick Bentinck, who was impulsive and restless, but had great abilities which were fully recognised. He was steadfast and kind, and, notwithstanding some eccentricities, was highly regarded by his many friends. He was a member of the Canterbury troupe, and well versed in literature, especially Italian. His wife was very active in society, and most hospitable. Her luncheon-parties were celebrated. To one of them she invited President Grant, and, having asked too many guests, she was obliged to place some young men at an extra side-table. She asked the President one or two questions, to which he gave no answer. At last, she made some enquiry about matters in America. He replied, "Wait a little for an answer till the reporters are gone."

I knew Mr. Charles Cavendish Clifford for many years. He was Lord Palmerston's private secretary, and brother to Admiral Clifford, whom I mentioned in connection with the Ionian Islands. Their father, Sir Augustus Clifford, was Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and lived in the Palace of Westminster. Mr. Charles Clifford was for some time Member for the Isle of Wight.

The family were connected with the Duke of Devonshire, and were highly appreciated and acceptable in the world. Mr. Charles Clifford was a very good writer, and occasionally contributed to *The Owl*, as did Mr. Gibson Bowles.

Mr. Justin M'Carthy was very much liked, though a leader of the Home Rule Party, who were not generally popular in the House. He was a distinguished writer and had a very sympathetic nature.

CHAPTER XLVI

Mr. Hanbury—Acquaintances in the House—Liberal friends—Baron Lionel de Rothschild—Lord Beaconsfield—Family of Rothschild

ONE of my friends in the House of Commons was Mr. Hanbury, Member for Tamworth. He had taken a place near mine, in Hampshire, and therefore, both at home and at work, we were closely associated. While I was in Eastern Roumelia, he was kind enough to undertake to perform for my constituents any little service they might require. Had he lived, I believe he would have achieved a very great reputation. Indeed, as it was, he became a Cabinet Minister, though still young.

The name of Hanbury reminds me of the gentleman of that name who had a beautiful botanical garden near Ventimiglia. Sir George Macleay was much interested in botany, and when on the Riviera constantly visited the garden, and discussed botany with its owner. On one occasion the talk turned to Australian plants. Sir George Macleay shortly afterwards asked Mr. Hanbury if he were still a Quaker, in which religion he had been born. He replied, "Well, I suppose I must be so; but I don't do very much

to keep it up. I never call a eucalyptus a 'thoucalyptus.'"

Mr. Hanbury's life had been a remarkable one. He had been brought up as heir to an uncle, a very wealthy business man, who owned considerable collieries at Cannock Chase. The uncle sent him to Rugby, and then desired him to go into business. Mr. Hanbury, however, declined. As his uncle refused to spend any more on his education, he set to work, and gained a sufficient number of lucrative scholarships to enable him to pay for his University career. His uncle was so much pleased at this proof of determination, that he restored Mr. Hanbury to favour, and made him his heir.

I also knew Mr. Roebuck, who had the reputation of being disagreeable, but who really was a most amiable man in private life. I knew him and his family well through some relatives of mine, and ever found in him a kind friend, and, often, a judicious adviser.

Mr. Bass, the head of the celebrated brewing firm, was a most respected and popular Member of Parliament. I think I never met any one in whom the spirit of hospitality was so thoroughly ingrained. Every day he had a dinner prepared for friends at his house in Eaton Square, and during the afternoon he would go round the House to those whom he specially liked, saying that he expected them to dinner. His guests were entitled to go in evening dress, or otherwise, as they chose.

Mr. Bass more than once refused a peerage. He was buried near his place, Rangemore, in Staffordshire. I attended his funeral, together with several other Members of Parliament, and there were large crowds from the neighbourhood.

Another friend of mine was Sir Henry Holland, now Lord Knutsford. Before entering Parliament, he had been Legal Adviser and Assistant Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office, where I first knew him. He was a man who enjoyed the confidence of everybody, and all were glad when he was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, and was subsequently made a peer.

Among the most remarkable men in the House of Commons was Sir Robert Peel. As every one knows, he was the son of a celebrated father, and himself a man of great eloquence, having occupied positions in the Government, and having been at one time Secretary of Embassy at Madrid. As this is not the place to discuss political reputations, it is unnecessary for me to refer to that of Sir Robert Peel; but I may say that, besides eloquence and knowledge, he had a very ready and diverting sense of humour.

On one occasion, a friend called on Sir Robert Peel at a club at Brighton, which has now, I believe, disappeared. The visitor said, "This seems a very nice club. Is one a long time coming up for it?"

Sir Robert replied, "Oh, very long."

"How long?" asked the friend.

“About twelve hours,” was the reply. “In fact, I believe that if I put you up now, you would be elected before you were half way down the street !”

When I was candidate for Portsmouth, Sir Robert Peel came over to speak for Mr. Bruce and myself. I remember his saying, in his sonorous voice, “I am told that there are standing for Parliament one hundred and fifty barristers-at-law, and, amongst them, twenty-five Q.C.’s. Q.C.’s indeed ! Questionable customers !”

Another member of the Conservative Party, for whom I then had, and still have, a great respect, was Mr. Harry Chaplin, with his striking eloquence and political acumen. It has always seemed to me that he is one of those spoilt for life by original good fortune. Had he been a man of moderate means, and forced to work, I believe he would have achieved the greatest positions.

• Another Member of the House, to whom I am grateful for many good turns, was Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, now Lord St. Aldwyn. He had the talent of impressing on every one a belief in his great ability, and this in spite of a natural modesty and simplicity of manner. Whenever there was an office vacant, members of the Conservative Party unanimously, though separately, used to consider him indicated for the post. In connection with him, I always thought of the axiom, *Haud semper erat fama aliquando et eligit.*

Sir William Dyke, as Whip, was generally

respected and esteemed. Every one seemed to have an affection for him, and one of the great mysteries I have never solved is the reason why he did not attain greater and more rapid promotion. He was ably seconded by Mr. Rowland Winn, who, shortly before his death, was made Lord St. Oswald.

Another admirable Whip was Lord Crichton, now Lord Erne. Although his labours were principally devoted to Irish matters, he was warmly welcomed by all members of his party, to whom he was of inestimable use, as well as by those of the other side.

One very prominent Member of the House was *Sir William Edmonstone*, generally known as the Admiral, as he held that rank, and was a man of nautical and most genial manners. Strangely enough, he imagined that he always spoke in a low tone of voice, and the result of this mistake was sometimes unfortunate. Once, at the Chapel Royal, during a sermon of which, I suppose, he did not approve, the Admiral turned round to me, and, in a whisper which could be heard throughout the whole building, said, "Agreed. Divide!"

One night, when the Recess was approaching, Sir William Dyke invited Lord Cross—then Mr. Cross—Mr. W. H. Smith, the Admiral, and myself, to dine with him at White's, and then to go to a theatre. We sat in the stalls in the following order: Lord Cross, Mr. Smith, Sir William Dyke, myself, and then the Admiral. The Admiral made

some observations in a loud voice : both he and I were requested by the attendant, who was selling play-bills, to moderate our tones. This produced fits of laughter from Sir William Dyke ; but Lord Cross and Mr. W. H. Smith affected to ignore our existence, turning their backs upon us, morally as well as physically.

Not only did I have great friendships with gentlemen of my own way of thought, but also with many of the Liberal Party. I was in constant communication with Lord James of Hereford—then Sir Henry James—and travelled with him. I knew Sir William Harcourt long before I was in the House, and never met with anything but amiability from him. He was supposed to be rather overbearing in argument, but this I always avoided by never arguing. In fact, I never do argue, and never did so, except in the House of Commons, where a point could be decided by the Ayes to the right, and the Noes to the left. I find that in private life argument always ends badly. You never convince your antagonist ; he never convinces you, and it generally ends in a quarrel.

I had known Lady Harcourt's family very well, as at one time they took a house near me at Boscombe, and I had the greatest admiration for her father, Mr. Motley, the famous historian and diplomatist.

Sir William Harcourt was most helpful when I was negotiating a commercial arrangement with the Spanish Government, and he was Chancellor of

the Exchequer. I received from him a very nice letter on the subject when the negotiation was concluded.

His letters were always amusing. In 1884, on public grounds, I pressed upon him, as Home Secretary, the claims of a gentleman, Chief Constable in an important town, for the honour of knighthood. I received from Sir William Harcourt a letter in which the following passage occurs :—

I am quite conscious of Mr. A. B.'s merits, and have had his claims strongly pressed upon me by his employers. The great difficulty in assigning special marks of distinction to deserving persons of this kind is that every one man thinks himself as good as another, and a great deal better. Nature has not stamped all men with those indisputable signs of merit which have made you and me knights.

One great pleasure that I now find in reading the debates in the House of Commons is to see the great prominence obtained and the ability shown by Mr. Lewis Harcourt and Mr. Winston Churchill. I knew them as very little boys—in fact, I knew Mr. Churchill as a baby—and foresaw their great ability. My prophecy has been entirely justified by circumstances, and their success has given me as much pleasure as anything I ever recollect.

To the same extent do I feel sorrow at the early departure of Mr. Oliver Borthwick—the only son of Lord Glenesk—whose ability and modesty were indicative of future success. He had already given evidence of it in the part he took in the

management of a great newspaper. His early death disappointed the hopes and affections of many.

I was constantly brought into contact with Sir Charles Dilke, when he was Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs; but when I left England I naturally saw very little of him. I also received many acts of friendliness from the late Mr. W. E. Forster, from Mr. Peter Rylands, and many others in the House of Commons whose names are too numerous to mention.

Amongst other acquaintances I made in Parliament was Mr. Nathaniel de Rothschild. He was heir to the baronetcy of his uncle, to which he shortly afterwards succeeded, and he was a son of Baron Lionel de Rothschild, the eldest member of the family then resident in England. Many years before, I had been introduced by Mr. and Mrs. Disraeli to Baron Lionel de Rothschild and his wife, but I only knew them very slightly. After the renewal of my acquaintance through their son, however, I saw a great deal of them all. The mother—one of the family of Frankfort—was a woman of remarkable dignity and kindness. She was the aunt of the present Lady Rothschild, the wife of Lord Rothschild, formerly Sir Nathaniel, on whom the peerage was conferred in 1885. Lady Rothschild now holds in England that privileged position which her mother-in-law so long worthily occupied.

Both Baron and Baroness Lionel de Rothschild

were very intimate friends of Lord Beaconsfield. It was to their house that Lord Beaconsfield went on the death of his wife, and Baroness de Rothschild's account of his great affliction was very touching. He constantly spoke of her, repeatedly making use of one phrase, "And she was never dull." Every one knew how valuable Lady Beaconsfield had been to her husband as a companion. I have often heard that she used to sit up for him for any length of time, till he returned from the House, which, in those days, was often very late. She looked after his tastes and comforts minutely.

Lord Beaconsfield invariably treated his wife with the greatest consideration, and resented any mark of slight or disrespect shown to her. Once they had been invited to stay at the country-house of one of the greatest of Conservative magnates, who was fond of banter. The master of the house passed the first evening in what is called chaffing Mrs. Disraeli, for the amusement of his guests, but much to her distress. An eye-witness told me that Mr. Disraeli sat perfectly still, and apparently without emotion ; but the next day he made use of some pretext to leave the house with his wife, and never returned, though frequently invited, and though he was working in the closest and most continuous manner with the politician in question.

The family of Rothschild is unique, existing, as it does, in all the chief European centres, where it has assumed, in many respects, the position of a great power. This is owing not only to their

fortune and their charity, but to their extraordinary knowledge and forecast both of financial and political life. They have always been on terms of confidence and friendship with the Governments of the countries where their houses are situated, and have never made use of the information for their own private advantage.

When private secretary to Sir Edward Lytton, at the beginning of 1859, I recollect walking one day with him in the lobby of the House of Commons, and meeting Baron Lionel de Rothschild. All politicians were in a state of great anxiety at the moment, and, as we passed, the Baron asked, "When is Lord Cowley going to Vienna?" Sir Edward said he did not know. The question had only just been decided. Though Sir Edward Lytton was a member of the Cabinet he was ignorant of the position of affairs, and yet the decision had already come to the knowledge of Baron de Rothschild. The family has means of information not generally available except to Governments. Their powers of access to important intelligence seems to be on a par with that of State Chanceries, and their perspicacity is startling.

It is said that the founder of the branch in this country, Baron Nathan Mayer de Rothschild, brought to England the news of the Battle of Waterloo. He died in 1836, the week that his son, Baron Lionel, was married.

I know of several occasions on which the earliest news of great political events, both in the East and

West of the world, have reached the house of Rothschild first. It is fortunate for the world that the family exercise their power benevolently. I have never heard of an instance of their doing otherwise, or of their acting in any way but in a generous and honourable manner.

I believe that the brothers and sisters of Baron Lionel de Rothschild are all dead ; but his descendants have achieved the same solid and exceptional position, and are important factors both in the financial and political world.

Lord Rothschild's sister, as I have mentioned before, was remarkable for her great beauty. She married Baron Alphonse de Rothschild, the head of the Paris house. The second daughter married Baron Ferdinand, head of the house at Vienna, who devoted himself very much to literature and to the collection of works of art, which he stored in the splendid home he erected in Buckinghamshire, called Waddesdon. He became naturalised, and was for some time M.P. for a division of Buckinghamshire. They died without children. Lord Rosebery married the only daughter of Baron Mayer de Rothschild.

The whole history of the family is that of enormous wealth, honestly and skilfully amassed, honourably and wisely administered.

CHAPTER XLVII

Bills in the House of Commons—Eastern Question—Suez Canal—Royal Titles Proclamation Bill—"Bulgarian Atrocities"—Meeting at Christchurch—Letter from Lord Beaconsfield—Journey to Egypt—Sir George Elliot—Society at Cairo—The Mouffetish—Khedive Ismail—Mr. Goschen—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone's Resolution.

ALTHOUGH to a minor degree I took an interest in many subjects, the first Bill to which I gave my attention was that called the "Public Worship Facilities Bill." This was intended to permit the building of churches without endowments, so as to enable persons of different gradations of opinion in the Church of England to obtain, without difficulty, a form of service that might be denied them in their parish church. It was also my fortune to obtain the appointment of a Committee, of which I was elected Chairman, to enquire into the case of Consular Chaplains, who had been disestablished and disendowed by Lord Derby. I was a member of a Parliamentary Commission on Copyright.

The "Regimental Exchanges Bill" interested me very much. This was to enable officers to exchange from garrisons where they were stationed to other quarters more agreeable to them. Thus, an officer in India, with a large family, would be allowed to

pay a certain sum to an officer in some other regiment, with whom he exchanged, who perhaps had no family, and to whom the service in India might be less irksome. Attempts were made to draw some comparison between officers in the Army and those in the Navy ; but this was scarcely admissible, as service in the Navy was of comparatively short duration, while that in the Army was, to a certain extent, indefinite.

In 1875, I brought in my first Bill, which I was subsequently enabled to pass. It was called the "House Occupiers' Disqualification Removal Bill," and was suggested to me by the condition of the electorate at Bournemouth. By the law, as it then stood, all householders were debarred from letting their houses furnished without disqualifying themselves as voters. This was a great grievance to persons of moderate fortune. The Bill enabled owners of houses to let their tenements furnished for four months in every year without having their names taken off the register, and thus made it possible for them to enjoy their annual holiday. I believe the Bill has worked successfully. Sir William Harcourt used to call my attempt at legislation "The Bournemouth Reform Bill."

During the session of 1875 a debate was raised on reforms in Turkey, and this was the first occasion, in my time, on which the "Eastern Question" had come before the House. Years afterwards I was fortunate enough to obtain in Persia the enactment of some of the provisions of the *Hatti*

Humayoun, which had proved so beneficial in Turkey.

In February 1876, Mr. Lowe made an attack upon the Government on account of the purchase of the Suez Canal Shares. I remember that I had to follow Mr. Lowe, and had the honour of being answered by Mr. Gladstone himself. One great point put forward by the Opposition was the advance by Messrs. Rothschild of the money required for the purchase. I took a very active part in discussing the subject in the House of Commons, as well as in the press, and wrote some letters to the *Times*, signed "Memnon," in answer to an article written in the *Edinburgh Review*, of which Mr. Henry Reeve was at that time the editor. I also wrote an article in the *Quarterly Review*, entitled, "The Suez Canal an International Highway." There was a great deal of literature on the subject. Sir Travers Twiss wrote an interesting pamphlet—read at the Congress for the Reform and Codification of the Law of Nations—going very closely into the question of the neutralisation of territory in its application to the Suez Canal. Mr. Cave made a great speech on the subject on his return from his mission to Egypt.

The resolution was finally adopted, "authorising the payment of the purchase money of the shares which belonged to the Khedive of Egypt in the Suez Canal, and the expenses attendant thereon." This was the occasion when Mr. Disraeli made his

brilliant defence of the policy which, as we all know, has turned out to be most successful.

Later in the same year I went to Egypt to enquire into questions concerning the administration of the Canal and the general finances of the country. I did this at the request of many persons interested in Egyptian matters, and accompanied Mr. Goschen, who had originally introduced Egyptian finance to European markets, and who had undertaken a mission on behalf of Egyptian bondholders. He was naturally anxious to examine minutely the probable fortune of his own creations.

Another question in which I was much interested was that of what was called the "Royal Titles Proclamation Bill." Sir Henry James moved a vote of censure on the Government—

That, having regard to the declaration made by Her Majesty's Ministers during the progress of the Royal Titles Act through Parliament, this House is of opinion that the Proclamation issued by virtue of that Act does not make adequate provision for restraining and preventing the use of the title of Empress in relation to the internal affairs of Her Majesty's dominions other than India.

Sir William Harcourt made a long speech, in which he questioned the Government closely as to the documents in which the title of Empress of India was to be recited; amongst others, whether the title was to appear in patents for invention. To this Mr. Disraeli replied that patents were limited to the United Kingdom.

Sir Henry James remarked that they extended to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man.

Mr. Disraeli rejoined, "Well, to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. I did not suppose it was upon the Channel Islands that he [Sir William Harcourt] was building up this portentous edifice of political terror. The honourable and learned gentleman seems to be annoyed that he has been described as the leader of a factious Opposition, or as a member of a factious Opposition. I think, myself, that he is quite competent to be a leader of a factious Opposition; but I will not thrust greatness on him before his time."

On a division, the motion was rejected by 334 against 226.

During the spring of 1876 an insurrection took place in Turkey which was made the subject of much discussion in the House of Commons. On July 31, I took an active part, and moved an amendment in a debate concerning the insurrectionary provinces. This was the crisis when Mr. Gladstone issued a pamphlet which raised the cry known as "Bulgarian Atrocities." Its immediate consequence was the holding of a Conference at Constantinople, to which Lord Salisbury repaired as the representative of England. The troubles ultimately ended in the Russo-Turkish War, which was only terminated by the Treaty of Berlin.

Towards the end of 1876 many meetings were got up throughout the country in response to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet. One was held at Christchurch, which I then represented, and was presided over by Mr. Auberon Herbert, who lived in the

neighbourhood. The Conservatives, however, were equal to the situation, and so many of that party attended the meeting that the resolutions proposed by Mr. Herbert's friends were negatived. We had made use of the whole of our electioneering organisation, which was then in a most perfect condition. Waggon's were sent to every village in the borough to bring up supporters of the Government. The Town Hall was crowded by members of both parties; but the Conservatives were in the majority, and, to their great satisfaction, the meeting declared itself in favour of the Government. This, I believe, was the turning-point of the agitation.

Lord Beaconsfield wrote me a very kind letter about our achievements; but, as it comes in with many others of a similar character, I do not think it necessary to reproduce it now. I may say, however, that the Prime Minister was of opinion that the agitation with regard to the so-called Bulgarian atrocities would presently come to an end. During his long recollection of many years of English history, he could remember numerous incidents that had given rise to great popular excitement. From his own experience Lord Beaconsfield was convinced that, when the realities of the situation were fully appreciated, the English people would alter their tone. Every one, he thought, would weary of hearing the same remarks repeated so often. Once the nation began to consider, the excitement would calm down.

Another successful meeting in support of the Government was held in Bournemouth—part of the same constituency as Christchurch.

I have already mentioned that in the autumn of 1876 I went with Mr. Goschen to Egypt. Mr. Goschen, who was the parent of Egyptian loans, had been requested at a public meeting to proceed to that country and examine the state of affairs. Some friends of mine, also interested in Egyptian matters, begged me to go with him. Mr. Goschen was accompanied by Monsieur Joubert, a great French financier, and the Marquis de Scépeaux, who, though an amateur, was of great utility. In Egypt we found several other persons, who had interests which they had come to look into; amongst others Sir George Elliot, a well-known contractor, who—as he himself told me—had begun life in a mine, but was now a man of great wealth and Member for Durham. He was a very pleasant companion, possessed of a great deal of humour. As he knew that I was interested in the Suez Canal, he invited me to come with him from Suez to Port Said, and back to Alexandria, on a ship sent out to repair the telegraph, for which, I think, Sir George was a contractor. I was much struck with the appearance of the works—then just finished—in which so much interest had been taken by the House of Commons.

Sir George Elliot told me the following anecdote of one of his elections, to show the necessity for good humour. As he was canvassing with some

of his Committee, a rough man came up to one of his companions and gave him a violent kick. This gentleman said, "You're joking!" The rough replied, "It wasn't a joke. I did it on purpose." Thereupon the Committee man, with great readiness, said, "I am glad of that, for I don't like jokes of that kind." The rough was so pleased that he voted for Sir George Elliot.

I found established as Diplomatic Agent at Cairo, Mr.—afterwards Lord—Vivian, who had been my immediate junior in the Foreign Office. He had already been Agent at Bucarest, and later on was Minister at Brussels and Ambassador in Italy. I had long been intimate with him and his family, and it was a great pleasure to me to meet him and Mrs. Vivian, whom he had recently married. Another gentleman, in Cairo, whose acquaintance I made, was Baron Des Michels, the French Agent. He married the daughter of Count Las Casas, and made a brilliant diplomatic career.

We had thus a very agreeable small society, and were well treated by the Khedive Ismail, with whom Mr. Goschen had come to negotiate.

The Minister of Finance, whose name I now forget, but who was known throughout the country as the Mouffetish, was considered to be one of the principal causes of Khedive Ismail's extravagance, and the remembrance of him calls to mind what may have been, and probably was a tragic event. Mr. Goschen made some demand in respect of certain loans, laying upon the Mouffetish blame

for the manner in which they had been brought out, and for the want of care shown in the whole transaction. He also demanded certain reductions, particulars of which I do not recollect. I had not until then known the Mouffetish ; but shortly after Mr. Goschen's appeal to the Khedive, the Minister sent to ask me to call upon him. On my seeing him, he begged me to try and induce Mr. Goschen to modify his terms in a particular way. I told him, very courteously, that I had no control whatever over Mr. Goschen ; that I knew he would not and could not pay any attention to such suggestions coming from me ; and that I strongly advised him to come to terms with Mr. Goschen himself. I shall never forget the look and the sigh which the poor man gave, as much as to say, "This is my last chance !" and I left him. During the afternoon of that day, or the next, the whole of society in Cairo was astonished at the news that the Mouffetish had been arrested. Sir George Elliot, who knew Egypt pretty well, was of opinion that the Minister's life was in danger, and wanted us to make a joint request to the Khedive to guarantee his safety. This was considered to be out of the question.

The Mouffetish was never heard of again. He was taken up the Nile on a Khedivial boat, and it was said that he was done away with, I believe at Dongola, by order of the Khedive. It appeared to be beyond doubt that he made a terrible resistance. One of the persons charged with his arrest

went out of his mind, it was asserted, with horror at what he had seen.

There is no doubt that the Khedive had been extravagant and rapacious. He would visit provincial towns and invite to breakfast the principal inhabitants, each of whom was expected to bring a certain large sum of money.

Mr. Goschen was a most agreeable companion, and did not spare himself as to the jokes that were made about him. He told us that when he was First Lord of the Admiralty his opponents wrote an additional verse to a song well known in those days, "If ever I cease to love!" Each verse had a kind of amiable imprecation, and the one allotted to him ran thus :—

If ever I cease to love,
If ever I cease to love,
May Mr. Goschen
Have a notion
Of the motion
Of the ocean,
If ever I cease to love!

On my return from Egypt I found the Bulgarian agitation still alive. It was brought to a Parliamentary test in a debate initiated by Mr. Gladstone in May 1877. Mr. Gladstone's resolution found "just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint in the conduct of the Ottoman Porte with regard to the Despatch written by the Earl of Derby on the 21st day of September 1876, and relating to the massacres in Bulgaria."

As an amendment to this, both Sir John Lubbock and I put down what is called the Previous Question, thinking it undesirable that the disputes in Turkey should be brought before Parliament at that moment. According to Parliamentary practice, I subsequently varied my amendment in explaining what I hoped to establish. It then ran as follows :—

That this House declines to entertain any Resolutions which may embarrass Her Majesty's Government in the maintenance of peace and in the protection of British interests, without indicating any alternative line of policy.

On May 14, after a prolonged debate, which had lasted for five days, the House divided. The majority in favour of my amendment was 131.

CHAPTER XLVIII

Lord Derby's Resignation—Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office—Salisbury Circular—Negotiations for a Congress—Opinion in England—Journey to the Continent—M. Waddington—England and Egypt—Political views in Paris.

A GREAT deal of discontent was caused among the Conservative Party by the supposed disinclination of Lord Derby to carry out their wishes with regard to Eastern policy, and this idea became the more prevalent from what was apparently an exaggerated inactivity on the part of the Ministry. At length, however, the Government determined upon an important step—nothing more nor less than the calling out of the Reserves. Later, Indian troops were ordered to Malta.

On March 28, 1878, Lord Derby announced his resignation in the House of Lords. He expressed his great regret that the proposed Congress had not been called together; but, in his judgment, "the fault did not lie with the Government of this country, and the dispute in which we are engaged is not one of form or of words, but one which I conceive involving a very substantial reality."

Lord Derby spoke in a handsome way regarding his colleagues, and reserved for a later occasion

his explanation for taking the step—which he much regretted—of separating from them. It was generally known, however, that the reason for his resignation was the calling out of the Army Reserves. This was done on April 1, by a message read by the Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords. Lord Derby's retirement was immediately followed by the resignation of Lord Carnarvon, the accession of Lord Salisbury to the Foreign Office, and the publication by him on April 1 of the celebrated despatch known as the "Salisbury Circular"—in my opinion the most remarkable State Paper ever published. The object of the despatch is indicated in the following paragraph:—

Her Majesty's Government, having learnt that the Bases of Peace had been arranged between the Turkish and Russian Delegates at Kyzanlik, instructed Lord A. Loftus, on the 29th January, to state to the Russian Government that Her Majesty's Government, while recognising any arrangements made by the Russian and Turkish Delegates at Kyzanlik for the conclusion of an armistice and for the settlement of Bases of Peace as binding between the two belligerents, declared that in so far as those arrangements were calculated to modify European Treaties and to affect general and British interests, Her Majesty's Government were unable to recognise in them any validity unless they were made the subject of a formal agreement among the parties to the Treaty of Paris.

Negotiations were going on at the time for an International Congress, on the initiation of Austria-Hungary. Parliament adjourned on April 16 for its Easter holidays, which were rather longer than usual, terminating only on May 6. I therefore

determined myself to visit every point of importance where I might obtain some insight into what was going on, and undertook a short journey on the Continent for the Easter Recess.

Before starting on my journey, a Turkish diplomatist spoke to me as follows :—

“If you take Egypt, England loses her whole power in Europe. What is that power now derived from? From her respect for public law—a respect which commands the confidence of other nations. Why is the conduct of England at this juncture so highly prized, and why have her words so much weight? Because from the first she has taken her stand on the sanctity of treaties, and she is supposed not to be open to the bribes now so freely dangled before other States. Austria is offered territory down to Salonica, even including Servia. Italy is pressed to take a footing on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. You, no doubt, are offered Egypt—tacitly, if not expressly. Russia, knows that without your presence the Congress cannot take place, and without the Congress the Treaty of San Stefano cannot be legitimised. The position of England is impregnable, because she takes her stand on principles, without which public faith must always be more insecure than even at present.”

My friend then entered into a number of details unnecessary to reproduce here.

I received a great deal of information from Mr. Butler Johnstone, Member for Canterbury,

with whose family I had long been intimate. He had taken a deep interest in Eastern affairs, and had devoted both time and money to their study. He told me that the Russians disliked the Turkish constitution, and that it was declared that the advance of Russia on Constantinople was the result of a compact between the Russian generals and the Court party at Constantinople, the result being shown in the immediate dismissal of the Turkish Parliament. Midhat, the author of the constitution, was in exile, and though Ahmed Vefyk Pasha was Grand Vizier, the constitution, if not destroyed, was suspended.

Unfortunately Midhat Pasha—when Governor, I think, of Broussa—had punished a man, guilty of what was considered sedition, by covering him with honey, and hanging him up in the sun for the flies to settle on him. This man was elected to the Parliament, and he it was who headed all the Parliamentary opposition to the Turkish Government.

Another friend of mine, a foreign diplomatist, said: “Bismarck at first encouraged Russia, thinking to strengthen her as against Austria, and believing England to be weak and hampered by the Opposition—a weakness which he thought would keep England neutral, or force her into an anti-Turkish policy. He now sees that Russia is not as strong as England. She could only beat Turkey with the assistance of the vassal principalities. In her sanitary and financial decrepitude she must

either give in to England, or be beaten by England. Bismarck does not want to be led into a war himself. He does not want Russia to be weakened, either morally, by a concession to England alone, or materially, by a war with England alone. He is therefore anxious to form a friendly coalition against Russia, so that she may gracefully yield to an overpowering array, and withdraw from a position gradually becoming destructive. If England only holds out, all her demands will be conceded. If she goes to war, though she may have no allies, there will be no alliances against her."

In Paris I obtained the most valuable information from Monsieur Waddington, whom I had known since Rugby days. He spoke to me very frankly about the state of affairs, and said that in Egyptian matters England and France were working in harmony, Lord Salisbury and Monsieur Waddington himself having impressed upon the Khedive the necessity for making effective the enquiry that was just going to be held. On the Eastern Question he thought everything was tending to a Congress. France was bent on peace. She required it, and would make many sacrifices to obtain it. She would therefore raise no objection to points of form, to the whereabouts of the Congress, or the President. It certainly was somewhat humiliating that the Treaty of Paris should be set aside at Berlin; but this could not be helped.

"But what course," I asked, "will France take in the Congress?"

"On Mediterranean questions," was the reply, "she will go entirely with England, but not beyond. She greatly objects to Russia having a strong naval station on the *Ægean* or the Mediterranean. It would be a standing menace to the Mediterranean Powers, and Kavalla was understood to be well adapted for conversion into a strong naval port. On Mediterranean matters France would certainly go with England."

"Do you include the Straits?" I enquired.

"Yes, certainly."

"And the Black Sea?"

"No. We will have nothing to say to anything but the Mediterranean and the Straits."

"But the Black Sea question and that of the Straits are practically the same," I urged. "Russia might accumulate large naval forces there."

"We have determined," M. Waddington answered, "to limit ourselves to purely Mediterranean interests. As part of this, we should object to any port being given to Montenegro, as this would probably fall into Russian hands."

On this point I was not of the same opinion. My belief was that if Spizza, a small port, were given to Montenegro, we should not hear much more of the Montenegrin problem. The inhabitants of that little State are very industrious. They have resources in timber, dried fish, and wine. If permitted access to the sea, I believed they would soon become immersed in trade, and absorbed in the industry of the Levant.

It was growing clear that in the coming Congress the only points which concerned England would be decided against us, and that we should be left to find our own remedy.

Another acquaintance of much experience in European affairs, Mr. Sheffield, a member of our Embassy in Paris, said to me: "We are going to a Congress. An arrangement will be made for the Russian troops to withdraw behind a certain line, and for our ships to retire from the Sea of Marmora. Germany is making enormous efforts in that direction. But when we go into the Congress we shall find everything cut and dry by the Kaiserbund. Austria will accept Bosnia and Herzegovina. The retrocession of Bessarabia will be confirmed. Batoum will remain in the hands of Russia, and then Turkey, at the bidding of the Emperors, will call upon us to withdraw our ships, if we have not done so before, and we shall be told, if not satisfied, to fight our own battles. We have committed a grievous error, in not strengthening our position in Egypt. Depend upon it, France is rapidly stealing ground upon us there. This has been our great mistake. Everyone expected we should do so, and we should only have met with verbal remonstrances."

"What would France say if we took Egypt?" I asked.

"The excitement would be wonderfully small. It is really almost expected. The large amount of Egyptian stock held in France both by private individuals and public institutions, even those

under Government protection, would render acceptable almost any measure which restored Egyptian credit. I was speaking of the possibility to a Frenchman a short time since, who a few years back would have been sent raving at the notion. His only answer was, '*C'est pratique, mais canaille.*'"

With regard to Lord Salisbury's despatch, the *Journal des Débats* wrote at that time:—

Doubtless the Marquis of Salisbury has rendered great services to his country; but such is the effect of a grand inspiration, that he has rendered others he did not dream of, but which certainly have their value. England will not have spoken with impunity the noble language of public law which Europe was on the way to unlearn. A serious evocation of those sublime terms, justice, respect for treaties, will not only have recalled Russian appetites to modesty; it will also have the effect of stopping certain ambitions to which the opportunity might have been presented of fishing in troubled waters. . . . England, by constraining Russia to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to the discussion of the Congress, and in thus obliging her to obtain the legalisation of Europe to her projects of aggrandisement, has by this means taken away from Germany every pretext for availing herself of the unmeasured extension of the Muscovite power to claim any compensation to the detriment of her neighbours. The chances for the maintenance of the *status quo* and of peace, at least in the west of Europe, are considerably increased. Thus England will have killed several birds with one stone.

Another friend of mine, a French diplomatist, with whom I had been very intimate for many years, Count de Montessuy, who disliked Republican Government, was persistent in laying all the difficulties at Prince Bismarck's door.

“They began,” he said, “in 1864, when we allowed Denmark to be crushed. They continued in 1870, when you allowed us to be crushed. An English statesman” [the name was mentioned] “came here shortly before the death of M. Thiers, and asked to be introduced to him. He said to M. Thiers: ‘I am glad to see France recovering so rapidly, for we shall soon have need of her.’ M. Thiers replied: ‘It is too late. When I came over to England to ask you to save us, you refused. Now we are dead.’”

Another gentleman, an English diplomatist, remarked to me on the absurdity of meeting to review treaties, and then to destroy them utterly. “The English Government has been inconsistent in its estimation of the value of Armenia. It led Russia to believe that no great store was laid on it. Now it is a salient point of Lord Salisbury’s Circular.”

Later on, I paid a visit to Nubar Pasha. He hoped for peace as the result of the Congress. I expressed my doubts, owing to the difficulties we might find in maintaining our views as to Asia, when the European Powers were satisfied on the European questions. “The treaties of 1856 and 1871,” I said, “referred only to the European concert, not to Asia.”

“No,” he answered; “they declared the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire, as a whole, to be a matter of the first interest to the signatory Powers.”

I could not quite admit the full force of this provision. I asked, "Suppose Turkey had been for any reason menaced in Yemen. Was that a matter the European Powers would have taken up? A short time ago we had some difficulties at Aden on this subject."

A French *littérateur* present said, "Suppose the integrity of England had been guaranteed, would that have secured her colonies?"

"But," replied our host, "if France had taken Syria, would that have been of no moment to Europe?" He continued, "Why should not England assume the protectorate of Egypt?"

"Because France would not be pleased."

"I think otherwise," he said. "At all events there are means of arranging it. Why not give France a protectorate elsewhere? Are there not Syria, Tripoli, Tunis?"

"But could this be done with the consent of Turkey?"

"Pray be practical. Turkey is dead. Austria will take her share. Russia with Kars will command Armenia."

I rejoiced that I did not think the English Government or the public would sanction our partaking of the spoil.

"Could it not be done with the consent of Turkey, then?" he asked. "The protectorate of Egypt might be given to England, and of other places to France, a guaranteed tribute being paid to the Sultan as the head of the Mahommedan

religion. Believe me, the Sultan would be much stronger with all his power concentrated in Asia than fettered by guarantees and capitulations at Constantinople, and with a nominal dominion in scattered territories over which he cannot rule."

The general opinion was that Bismarck was in earnest in his desire for peace.

What surprised me, however, was the tone in which all persons whom I met spoke of the possible annexation, under some form or other, of Egypt by England. At Nubar Pasha's house were two Frenchmen—one a writer, the other familiar with public affairs—and both seemed prepared for and reconciled to some step of the kind. An English friend of mine told me that he had just heard a French general talking in the same sense—that he had expressed himself astonished at our laying so much stress on the Treaty of San Stefano, saying that we had better take Cyprus or Tenedos at once, and keep an eye on Egypt. Another English friend, who often came to Paris, said that the only people opposed to it were the Orleanists, who were very anti-English and pro-Russian.

I saw a Frenchman—a financier and a late Minister—and told him how much changed I found the tone of Frenchmen on this point. He replied, "We are very much subdued by our late misfortunes. For a long time we were hurt at the *conduct of England in 1870-71*, when she seemed to pursue a thoroughly selfish policy, and left us

to our disasters. But that wound is healing, and gradually a feeling has revived in favour of the English alliance. This has been blown into a blaze by Lord Salisbury's despatch, and the noble position taken up by England. We should feel, therefore, no jealousy at England doing anything which appears absolutely essential to her ; and we ourselves are anxious about Tunis. If any other Power took possession of that territory, we should not feel safe in Algiers, whereas, if our dominion were established over it, we should feel quite safe. We know that Italy has views on Tunis, and an understanding such as you mention would, I think, be favourably viewed in France."

CHAPTER XLIX

Count de Breda—Foreign opinion of Salisbury Circular—Feeling in Austria-Hungary—Baron Gagern—Other interviews

TRAVELLING through Switzerland, I found public feeling, as far as I could judge, in favour of England, both on the ground taken up by Lord Salisbury, and from the fear that wherever Russia extends itself trade is fettered. I spent one night at Lindau, on the Lake of Constance, to see Count de Breda, who made a continuous study of continental politics. He showed me plainly, as others had done, that the key of the Eastern Question was at Vienna and Pesth.

Austria, said the Count, had three courses before her — neutrality, alliance with Russia, alliances against Russia. Germany preached one of the first two courses. Neutrality, however, he thought, she would find difficult.

The proposal of Germany to Austria was said to be this: Take Bosnia and Herzegovina, seize Salonica, and make a compact with us, giving to the German Empire free access to Trieste, which will then become a German port. With Salonica

and Trieste, we shall have the nearest approach to the Suez Canal.

Germany, said Count de Breda, sought to isolate England, and to localise the war. Her fear was a coalition of Powers against herself and Russia. Count Andrassy was the friend of Germany, and maintained his position by playing into the hands of Bismarck, and by his Hungarian support. The latter might have left him at any moment if it were thought that he took a hostile part against Turkey. Hence his wish to have the Congress, so that any annexation of provinces might appear to be forced on him, in which case he would endeavour to add them to the Hungarian, and not the Austrian section of the Dual Monarchy. This, however, would not satisfy the Court Party, who, if consenting to the annexation, would do so only to obtain compensation for provinces already lost. The Court Party was divided between hatred and fear of Germany. It would have embraced a coalition willingly, if presented on such terms as to secure a successful attack both on Germany and Russia. In the absence of such coalition, it might throw in its fate with Russia, consent to a partition of Turkey, and take its share.

“But,” I enquired, “are there not a great many Ultramontanes of the Court Party, and are they not, as are the Roman Catholics generally, opposed to Russia?”

“No,” said the Count. “Curiously enough,

there is a question of race which here changes matters. Most of the great Ultramontane houses have large properties in Bohemia, and, if not Czechs by race, have often a local sympathy with this branch of the Slav family. They also entertain a fear of absorption by Germany, and cherish the hope that Russia may at some time interpose to save them from this fate."

"And what is the prevalent feeling of the Austrian Parliament?"

"On the whole, anti-Russian. But the kernel of the question is to be found at Pesth. Andrassy is very popular personally with his fellow-countrymen, and they accept from him a deference to Bismarck that they would not tolerate in an Austrian Chancellor. Hungary must always count for much in the Dual Monarchy. The Magyars are brave, united, and rash, and are therefore more formidable than any other of the races composing the empire."

"But how does Count Andrassy manage to have the support of the Hungarian Ministry so thoroughly, if at all suspected of coquetting with Germany?"

"M. Tisza, the head of the Hungarian Ministry, is a Calvinist, and the Hungarians of this denomination have always had a strong leaning towards Prussia. Through him the best interpretation is placed on Count Andrassy's policy. But M. Tisza's Government is not so strong as it was. Any violence offered to Turkey would

destroy it, and with it Andrassy must go—though another Hungarian might replace him. Depend upon it, however, that so long as Andrassy is in office, Austria will not desert the *Drei Kaiserbund*. Austrian public opinion does not know how close is the relation between Berlin and St. Petersburg. The ignorance is the more intense from the passions of parties. ‘We shall have a Russian alliance against Germany,’ says the Slav. ‘We shall have a German alliance against the Russians,’ say the others. Austria can never take a resolution in time. Prince Bismarck is reported to have said lately that he had unlimited confidence in the blundering of Vienna.

“Take care,” Count Breda added, “that Russia does not organise a movement in the Congress to deprive maritime powers still further of their belligerent rights at sea.”

On all sides in Vienna I heard but one voice in favour of Lord Beaconsfield’s policy and Lord Salisbury’s despatch. It seemed to have stirred up all Europe, and to have restored the credit of England by a sudden jump of the thermometer from freezing to fever point.

“Would that we had such Ministers here,” said a Viennese, who was, I am bound to say, an opponent of Count Andrassy, and an advocate for the promotion of Count Taaffe. One trustworthy person spoke much more calmly, however, of Count Andrassy’s policy, and referred to him as encountering difficulties of the same kind as those

against which Lord Beaconsfield had had to contend.

Amongst the great families to which I have already alluded, there was not only a pro-Russian feeling, but a dislike of England, dating from the Schwarzenberg - Palmerston discussions and the encouragement given by England to Italy and Hungary. All these motives had their influence over the Ministers of a Court which, in the Dual Government, still exercised considerable control, especially over foreign affairs. A Minister in Austria, I found in 1878, required a social as well as a parliamentary majority, and the first could not be ascertained by the same tests as the second. You could not count noses, nor turn society into the division lobbies. One result of Lord Salisbury's Circular had been to make the press far more English and anti-Russian than before. At the time of my journey, the current ran strongly in our favour. I doubted, however, whether Austria would declare herself for war until she saw it begun.

On April 24, I called on Baron Gager, an old Austrian diplomatist, to whom I had brought a letter of introduction.

He said: "Count Andrassy is unpopular because Prince Bismarck complimented him in a speech, saying that when he wanted to know the intentions of Austria, he could always have them from Count Andrassy. It is useless to disguise it: Germany and Russia are but one and the

same cause. Austria can never take any step against Russia without the fear of some movement—either actual war, or a demonstration on her frontiers. No doubt, some persons in Austria are in favour of occupying Bosnia. There are Turkish Croats in Bosnia, who are exactly the same in every respect as the Austrian Croats. Moreover, there are some Austrian convents and educational institutions kept up in Bosnia by Austrian benevolence. Besides this, Austria is bearing the burden of supporting some 120,000 Bosnian refugees, who refuse to go home until some order is instituted. Count Andrassy, as a Hungarian, is not popular in Austria ; but it would be difficult to replace him. Whatever their feelings, none in Austria would move against Germany. The opinion of the Emperor of Germany is well known—great personal affection for the Czar. The feeling is a family tradition. In 1848, the King of Prussia answered a national deputation from smaller states which urged some movement against Russia : ‘ Never will I draw the sword against my brother-in-law, the Emperor of Russia ! ’ Count Andrassy, amongst other difficulties, has to contend against the personal feelings of his own Emperor. In youth, the Emperor had a great devotion for the Emperor Nicholas, who certainly saved Hungary for the Austrian monarchy. He often regrets his separation from Russia in 1856, and the imputation of ingratitude then freely made against him. About five or six years ago, a reconciliation took

place. The Emperor of Russia sent word that it could be arranged, on condition that Austria would do nothing in her Polish provinces that could stir up sedition in Russian Poland. 'If,' said the Emperor of Russia, 'you keep to this understanding, you can say all you have to say to me directly, rather than by making use of the Berlin triangle.' The proposal was very agreeable to the Austrian Emperor, to whom all communications with Berlin are irksome. Since then, the two Emperors were for a long time on the best terms, corresponding personally in French, and tutoying each other. The Emperor of Russia came to the Exhibition at Vienna. Since the war, however, there has been a coldness. The Emperor of Russia resented the enthusiasm in Hungary for the Turks, the reception of the Softas, and the explanation by the Hungarian Government of the term 'ally' applied by the Emperor of Austria to the Emperor of Russia while proposing his health on his birthday."

I enquired what was the general feeling of German Austria.

"German Austria is against Russia, as is Roman Catholic feeling everywhere, generally speaking. Do not believe, however, in any difficulties arising from Slavonic feeling in Austria in case of a war against Russia. With the exception of the Slovaks, who are Protestant, and a few belonging to the Greek Church in Hungary, the Slavs of Austria are Roman

Catholic, and their religion will outweigh race-feeling. Besides this, the Slavs are far more dynastic, far more loyal to the Emperor than either the Germans or the Hungarians. The lower classes do not understand the feeling of nationality, but blindly follow their Emperor. Never was there a greater mistake than to represent the possibility of a divided army. It is devoted to the Emperor. Owing to the abstention of Hungary from the army for twenty years, a large proportion of the general officers are Slavs, and all, without exception, are heart and soul with the Emperor, and would follow him anywhere. Austria would not go to war in any way a divided country. Even the Germans of Germany are against Russia ; but they are so *enrégimentés* that once war was declared there would be no question of political feeling. Discontent among the Czechs can at any moment be removed by small concessions to their self-love and national pride. There is amongst them, however, a strong remnant of the Hussite feeling."

"But as to the question of money?" I enquired.

"That would be a very great difficulty. At present we have not settled our compromise (*Ausgleich*) with Hungary, and if we raised money, we could not decide how the repayment is to be apportioned. Besides this, our taxes are already very heavy."

A financier told me that one of the Ministers

had said, on being asked how he was to raise the 60,000,000 florins voted by the Delegations : " If we don't go to war, we shall not want it. If we do go to war, England will find it." In fact, Count Andrassy passed the vote against the wish of the Austrian Government, and principally through the support of sections of the Opposition. A caricature had just appeared of Count Andrassy walking past a sign-post marked, " Way to the Conference." He wore enormous spurs ; on the rowels were printed the words, " Sixty millions credit," and he was saying, " I have no horse yet, but meanwhile I must make a show with spurs." The caricature was headed " Consolation." Another, entitled " In the East," showed a Russian soldier and an English sailor see-sawing on the ends of a crescent moon, with Count Andrassy standing below, and vainly throwing his cap at the Russian soldier.

I received a call from Baron Plener, a member of a well-known official family, to whom I had brought a letter. He said that he represented the moderate Liberal element, and also the feeling of the military party. He was against going to war, but in favour of taking Bosnia and Herzegovina. He feared that England wished to restore Turkey with its misgovernment.

I replied that the presence of Lord Salisbury at the Foreign Office was opposed to this view. No one had spoken or acted more against it than the Foreign Minister.

The Baron said that the misgovernment of

Turkey was a constant source of disquietude to Austria ; that he looked on the erection of Bulgaria into a powerful State as inevitable, and that the occupation of the two provinces was indispensable—at first as a *promenade militaire*, to guarantee the safety of the refugees who could no longer be maintained, and afterwards as a permanency, to prevent their joining Servia and Montenegro, and thus creating a powerful neighbour in the rear of the Austrian possessions on the Adriatic.

I suggested that the creation of two Bulgarian principalities would obviate this danger.

“No. Roumania managed to form itself into one state, and Bulgaria will do the same. You may say that Southern Bulgaria contains a different element in Greeks and Mussulmans. But the latter will soon become Christian, or leave the country, and the Greeks, being in a minority, will have to give way.”

“Do you think Germany would interfere forcibly to prevent your going to war with Russia ?”

“No,” he answered, “not at first. If we were very successful she might make some demonstration in Silesia. If the war were undecided, she would do nothing unless we took such steps on the frontier of Poland as might excite her own Polish population. Our Poles are very well affected towards us, and in this respect different to the Poles of Germany and Russia.”

CHAPTER L

Politics at Vienna—Count Andrassy—Austro-Hungarian views—The Near East

AN old acquaintance of mine, Ritter Flesch von Festau, an eminent lawyer, called on me more than once when I was in Vienna. He said that if England wanted to obtain the support and sympathy of Europe she must do two things. First, she must show herself strong, and secondly, she must place herself at the head of Europe in the cause of European interests. He went on: "You said that the French Government would support England in Mediterranean questions. There, Austria could go with you. Her interests therefore are those of France, of Italy, of Greece, of Spain and Portugal, and of yourselves, though you may have others in addition. The first article, therefore, of your programme should be the Mediterranean, for that concerns the whole of Europe. Fight the battle of Europe, and afterwards Europe will fight yours in Asia. Begin by founding a confederation of the Mediterranean. Russia has long wanted the Bosphorus, as the key to the Mediterranean. Her proposals relative to

Bulgaria, if carried out, would make her a Mediterranean power irrespective of the Bosphorus, leaving Turkey in Europe only a *façade*. Austria has too many questions to settle with Russia in the West to give her leisure to work at her in the East. Austria must take up the Adriatic, and France the Ægean; but these questions are European. The proposed state of Bulgaria is a standing menace to Austria. It will be the headquarters of the Orthodox Greek Church. It would create a Russian army of the South. It would undergo the protective system of Russia. All these considerations would make it a standing danger to Europe.

“The object of Russia is preponderance in Europe. If she keeps Bulgaria she will gradually destroy Austria. Some day, if Russia holds Europe from the south in Bulgaria, she will try to find her way to the open sea in the north, and threaten Germany and Scandinavia to get hold of the Sound. The advance of Russia is a European question. England must make this plain to Europe. If Russia confiscates Turkey, it will be the commencement of her domination of Europe.

“The Treaty of San Stefano has two great advantages. It has shown that the objects of Russia were not purely humanitarian. The war was not made only with the object of saving souls. It was a *coup d'état*.

“The Treaty has opened the eyes and stirred the minds of English statesmen. It has also shown

that there must be some fresh distribution of the Turkish Empire.

“England dislikes taking the Treaty of 1856 for a basis, as it does not allude to Armenia. She is anxious for the welfare of the populations of Turkey ; but, remembering the words of Napoleon, she is bent on preventing Europe from becoming Cossack. The only means of carrying out this double object is to create a confederation in European Turkey on the model of the old German Confederation. This should be under the protection of the European areopagus, including Turkey, to whom Constantinople would still belong. The fortresses should be made federal, as were Mayence and Frankfort. The representatives of Europe would watch over the safety of the new Confederation, but the populations should be allowed to settle their own internal organisation. Russia would thus be prevented from introducing the Russian language into Bulgaria, which is her present object ; nor could she drill the Bulgarians into a Russian soldiery.

“Again, I say, to achieve this, England must show herself unselfish and strong. In making war on Russia, she must not attack her violently, but by *taquinant*, and not allowing her to profit by her successes. Russia will always disgust the populations whose territory she occupies. Recently Roumania has proved that her people will not be the slaves of Russia. All populations should be taught to make pretensions similar to those of Roumania.

By this means Russia would be fatigued. The agents to be used for this purpose should be Greeks and Poles, who have an instinctive feeling of what is disagreeable or dangerous to Russia. Russia will always find greater danger from Eastern populations as friends than as enemies.

“Austria dislikes Prussia, but she cannot move without alliances and without money. Find her these, and she will be a powerful auxiliary. Before long Prussia will be forced to associate herself with the opponents of Russia, or be exposed to a coalition which will overwhelm her. She is unpopular enough already. She will become more so when known as the only ally of Russia.”

I next saw Count Andrassy. He told me, as indeed had every one, of the pleasure felt throughout the Continent at the recent change of policy in England. For months England had been nowhere. No answer could be obtained, and her policy seemed to be one of indecision, vacillation, and tergiversation. Now all was altered, and every one must admire Lord Salisbury's brilliant despatch. The Count regretted, however, that it was merely in the negative—a criticism and not a counter-proposal.

I replied that Lord Salisbury, from the position he held, could scarcely be expected publicly to make counter-proposals. The Treaty of San Stefano had unmasked Russia, and, although England and Lord Salisbury objected to the Treaty, what they required was that it should be laid before

Europe, for Europe to make one in a European sense, not to accept a counter-proposal made by England.

The Count admitted this view ; but said that communications were going on between the Cabinets as to the views of England before entering a Congress.

I asked whether he thought that there would be a Congress. He said he hoped and believed it. He did not believe in the report of the Russian ultimatum to Roumania, but he confirmed the report of the outbreak in Roumelia. I touched lightly on the possibility of an Austrian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He answered that he did not see how it could be avoided, nor did he evade the idea of the occupation becoming permanent. He said the two provinces were too small for a separate existence ; that they would fall a prey to Montenegro and Servia, who would probably massacre the Mussulman population, and, with all the force of a large Panslavic state, menace the frontiers of Austria.

I asked whether any progress was being made for the terms for the withdrawal of the English fleet and the Russian troops. Count Andrassy said he thought there were some hitches, but that everything tended that way. He hoped that the way would soon be smoothed to a Congress. In the absence of it, the Russians were strengthening themselves in Bulgaria. Then outbreaks would occur, Mussulmans would be destroyed, further

bitterness created, and the doctrine of *beati possidentes* further confirmed.

“Was not Germany rather changing her policy?” I asked. It might be so, but he did not perceive anything beyond this—that she saw the theory of *beati possidentes* was not likely to be carried without opposition. Germany did not believe herself threatened from the north by Russia, and had no fears about the Sound.

I mentioned what I had heard at Paris respecting the views of France in the Mediterranean, and her objection both to a Russian port in the Ægean, and to a port for Montenegro. The Count replied that he was glad to hear it. I mentioned my opinion about Spizza, and the possible absorption in trade of the Montenegrins, a laborious people, if they had a small port. He said that he had no objection to giving them Spizza, though it would open the way to smuggling under the Montenegrin flag, for the Montenegrins, besides being laborious, were fond of smuggling. He could not consent, however, to giving them Antivari, which was what they wanted, inasmuch as it could be converted into a strong military port; nor could Austria consent to give Montenegro the frontier traced out by Russia, which would confer on the Montenegrins a strategical advantage over a district inhabited by Mirdites, Arnauts, and Albanians, who were opposed to the Panslavic idea.

Count Andrassy told me that General Ignatieff, when in Vienna, stated that he could not accept

any alteration in the Treaty of San Stefano, as it had received the signature of the Emperor ; and he was much astonished when told that, however great the respect for the Emperor Alexander, the fact of his having signed a Treaty was not of itself enough to make other countries accept terms detrimental to themselves. It was impossible to leave Russia in Bulgaria, and it was necessary to keep Turkey at Constantinople. From thence she could carry into Asia European civilisation. At present her states were too large. She could not govern them ; magnificent lands lay uncultivated ; whole territories were ruined by the exactions of the pashas, and given up to Kurds and other wandering tribes. She was like a tree whose branches extended too far. Cut down the branches, and the tree revives. The Danube should be placed under the care and responsibility of Roumania.

I enquired the Count's views as to Egypt being taken by England, and Tunis by France. He said Austria would rejoice to see this, and Italy should also receive some accession of strength in the Mediterranean. Germany would also be in favour of such an arrangement.

The Count remarked that protectorates would do for states that could be autonomous ; they would not answer for Bosnia and Herzegovina, which did not contain the elements of autonomy. At present all policy was negative. Turkey was destroyed. We must therefore have a positive policy against Russia—raise the Greeks, and so place the other

nations of Europe as to be a counterpoise to Panslavism.

I enquired whether war might not arise out of the Congress.

"Perhaps," he replied, "but then we should know what it was about. At present there is no case for a war. We do not know what we should be fighting for."

"Do you think that the Russians want peace?"

"They say they do," replied Count Andrassy.

"But would not peace, perhaps, be as great a danger to them as war? Are they not catacombed with secret societies which might rise against them in case of a peace they disapproved?"

"Yes," he answered. "Their secret societies are a great danger, and have enormous ramifications. It might be better for the Government to have to yield to force, than to make concessions without first fighting. Their army is, however, suffering fearfully both in Asia and at Adrianople. They are dying of typhus by hundreds. Near Constantinople their health is not so bad."

I asked one more question: "Is there any truth in the assertion that the Slav soldiers could not be relied upon in a war with Russia?"

"The assertion is the most absurd ever made. In Hungary, there are Slavs known as Russniaks. They are our best hussars, and devoted to the Emperor. They are more proud of being soldiers, and Austrian soldiers, than any others in the army. The only Slav discontent is amongst some of the

upper classes in Bohemia, and that could easily be removed."

Count Andrassy asked me, as I was going away, what was the feeling in England about war.

I replied that we had a sincere desire for peace, but were determined to go to war unless we obtained reasonable terms from Russia.

"That is just our feeling in Austria," replied the Count. "We have one million three hundred thousand soldiers. We are crippled in our finances; but if a war breaks out, we shall find a way to utilise our army."

The idea was very strong at Vienna that Russia was going through great domestic difficulties. *Die Bombe*, a half-comic illustrated paper, had a cartoon of Vera Sassulitch, dressed as William Tell, having just struck Trepoff in the heart with an arrow, while on the top of the pole hung a Russian cap with two scourges crossed underneath like crossbones. A report had just arrived of an ultimatum sent by Russia to Roumania, insisting on an offensive and defensive alliance, or threatening as an alternative the deposition of the Prince and the disarmament of the army. It was said that the army, with the Government archives and cash, and the cash of the banking houses, was on its way to the frontier. If it crossed into Hungary it was thought there would at once be an explosion. The *Neue Freie Presse*, in announcing this intelligence, praised the foresight of those who sent away the cash, as otherwise

it would be spent by the Russians in the cause of humanity. It was also reported that Germany had offered England a similar alliance in the cause of peace, which England declined on account of her friendship with France.

I next met the editor of a leading newspaper. His views were those which I had heard from other sources—the Russian tendencies of the Court, and the anti-Russian tendencies of Count Andrassy. There was no fear of the latter adopting a pro-Russian policy. Money, however, was wanted. Austria had troops, but no money. I asked him what he thought of the statement that Slav troops would not fight against Russia. He replied that at that moment there was no fear of it at all, though later on Russian agents might work on them. “But,” he added, “after all, what does it matter? With Germans, Poles, and Hungarians, on whom we can rely, we have 600,000 men, and if we mistrusted our Slavs—which we do not—they might be left to garrison the interior.” I enquired what he thought of the idea of Austria getting hold of the two provinces peaceably. He replied, “We should find that difficult. Italy would then be putting in her claim for Trieste and the Trentino.”

On returning from my visit to Count Andrassy, I was visited by a Roumanian gentleman of considerable importance. He confirmed the rumour that a letter, which might be considered an ultimatum, had been addressed by the Czar to the Prince

of Roumania. It stated that the Czar would soon send a delegate to Bucarest to sign a treaty to regulate the passage of troops through Roumania, according to Article VIII. of the Treaty of San Stefano. If this were refused, it was added, the Emperor would be obliged to take the steps necessary for his own interests. The Prince of Roumania was therefore again placed in a most painful position. Were his army numerous enough, he would not mind fighting, for the Russian army was in an awful state. But his own army now consisted of about 45,000 men, at Crajowa. The Prince was at Bucarest, surrounded by Russian troops, and not daring to leave, for fear the desertion of his capital should be put forward as a pretext for its seizure by the Russians. Before their alliance with the Russians, the Prince had asked the advice of all Europe, and had received no answer. He was thus punished for trusting the Russians.

It was also to be feared, said my informant, that the Russians might provoke an insurrection at Bucarest, as a reason for a terrible suppression. Had the English fleet not entered the Dardanelles, in three days there would have been an insurrection and a massacre provoked by the Russians as an excuse for entering Constantinople. The Russian army was in a terrible condition: its artillery was infamous, and one hundred thousand horses had been lost. Only the Cossacks had kept theirs.

“What irritates the Russians so much against you?” I asked.

“It is not only our refusal to take the Dobrudscha instead of Roumania,” he replied. “It is on account of the liberal ideas imbibed by the Russian troops in Roumania, which is one of the freest countries in the world. Both officers and men have been shocked at the conduct of their superior officers. The highest have been seen drunk with champagne at *cafés* in Bucarest, with women of the most notorious character; and all of them are corrupt to the last degree in their administration. The highest receive percentages on the army contracts, and therefore shut their eyes to the extortions of the contractors. What is feared by the Russians is the return of the army to Russia. The officers in Roumania have been reading books and newspapers they never saw before. Their constant demand in their carouses was for the *Marscellaise* to be played; while the peasant soldier who fought side by side with the Roumanian at Plevna soon gave up signing himself with the cross when mentioning the name of the Emperor. Not only is the army that still remains in a bad state, but the new levies are even worse, and it is reported that General Gourko has refused to receive his latest reinforcement. Plevna really was the principal difficulty of the war. Here the Russians were assisted by the Roumanians, and the exhaustion of Russia after efforts such as these does not speak much for her resources. If her

army is bad, however, her diplomacy makes up for it. The assurances given by Russia to Austria soothed her, as you were soothed in England by fair words. The awakening has been a rough one. There can be no doubt that had Austria mobilised two *corps d'armée* on her frontier after the fall of Plevna, Russia would never have crossed the Balkans.

“The formation of Bulgaria, as is now intended, would be the destruction of Roumania, which would then be placed between two Russias. New Bulgaria can be nothing else than a Southern Russia.

“The Bulgarians are Slavs. There are very few Bulgarians above the rank of peasants. Already the Russians have begun to import Russian institutions, Russian priests, Russian schoolmasters and books. The country is governed by Russian officials. In the new Bulgarian army every officer, from the corporal upwards, will be a Russian. The religion and race are identical. What, then, will Roumania be able to do when hemmed in on every side by Russia? The gift of the Dobrudscha is not a compensation, but a trap. It is a marshy country, a *refugium peccatorum*, inhabited by the criminal refugees of every country. To these have been added Tartars and Circassians, and to keep it in order an army of at least 20,000 will be required. Besides, it is detached from Roumania. The majority of its inhabitants are Bulgarian, and it belongs geographically to Bulgaria. When this

country becomes strong, in the course of the next few years, it will, of course, demand it. There never was a more flagrant breach of faith than the ‘retrocession’ of Bessarabia.”

My informant showed me the second article of the Russo-Rouman Treaty, signed at Bucarest on the 4/16 April 1877 :—

In order that no inconvenience or danger may result for Roumania from the fact of the passage of Russian troops on its territory, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias undertakes to maintain and to cause to be respected the political rights of the Roumanian State, as they result from internal laws and existing treaties, as well as to maintain and defend the actual integrity of Roumania.

The Czar declared that he was actuated in the matter by reverence for the memory of the Emperor Nicholas, and General Ignatieff told a lady at Bucarest that his Emperor wished to remove a blot from the memory of his father. “Yes,” answered the lady, “he removes the blot from his father to place it on himself.”

CHAPTER LI

Political discussions—Austrian Alliance—M. Hoffmann—Baron Orczy—Visit to Pesth—Count Albert Apponyi—Hungarian politics—M. Tisza—Return *via* Berlin.

DURING my stay in Vienna, I had a short but most interesting conversation with a gentleman occupying a high position in connection with Galicia. He said at once, "Austria cannot go to war now. She is afraid of Germany, and she cannot make an enemy of Russia, unless she carries war *à outrance* and crushes her. *On doit la refouler au delà du Dnieper*. You must then create a confederation of small states that should be opposed to Russia, and under the protection of whom you like, so long as it is not Russia. Where she has influence, everything becomes Russian."

I observed that some method might be found for obtaining the Austrian alliance.

"Not at first. Come to us with an alliance ready made—England, France and Italy, and money; then, being able to defy Prussia and crush Russia, we should be with you. We have a magnificent army, now at its zenith. It is worth having. But we have no money, and that you must find."

I said, "Suppose we get Italy, Turkey, and Greece: would that suffice to tempt you? France is very like yourselves: she would not wish to join an alliance, until she saw it had every chance of success."

"Perhaps that would do."

I asked whether Poland could not be raised against Russia.

"In the same way," he replied, "if you can show a definite object, and a chance of success. Poland has been roused and defeated too often. The Poles will be ready to come forward; but they must be shown a result. The solution of the Eastern Question would be the reconstitution of Poland. This, of course, would rouse the hostility of Germany. Before Poland is reconstituted, it should first be annexed to Austria, whose Polish subjects are quite happy."

"Do you think the secret societies of Russia are a great danger to the Government?"

"Enormous. Nihilism is the open foe of Western civilisation. It is against law, marriage, property, even the existence of the state, and it urges war against civilisation. All the middle classes are Nihilist. General Miliutin, the Minister of War, is a Nihilist. So was the late Prince Tcherkassy."

"Then," I said, "Nihilism will walk hand in hand with Panslavism?"

"It is the same thing. What is Panslavism outside Russia is Panrussism in Russia, and Nihilism is Panrussism. It is the war of Russian

barbarism against European civilisation. It is this feeling which, I think, will hurry on the Russians to war."

I asked what he thought of the proposal for the withdrawal of the fleets and armies.

"Simply puerile," was the answer. "If an arrangement breaks down, how can you rely on Turkey replacing you in the same position?"

I enquired as to the state of the army.

"You may depend upon it, the army will be perfectly loyal. The only feeling that has to be feared is the Russian tendency of some of the upper classes; but that is of no great significance. Give us yourselves, France, Italy, and some money, and we will carry on a successful war against Russia, and drive her back into Asia."

I then went by appointment to see M. Hoffmann, Minister of the Press. He asked me whether Lord Beaconsfield wanted peace, or whether he thought the equilibrium had been so much upset in the Mediterranean that it could only be restored by a war.

I replied that, though an independent supporter of the Government, I had no pretence to be in their confidence or to speak for them; but that I knew there was every desire to preserve peace if Russia would make reasonable concessions, though it was much feared that war was inevitable.

M. Hoffmann⁷ said that the desire of Count Andrassy was that the Congress should meet. Lord Beaconsfield had refused a formula proposed

by Berlin and accepted at St. Petersburg, and Berlin was now trying to find a fresh formula. He was assured that the state of Russia was so deplorable as to make peace essential to her. Her army in Turkey could not undertake a fresh war, and her other forces were fully engaged by Poland and in watching the Austrian frontier. If there were only a Congress, Russia would give in on every point. Austria, France, Italy, and even Prussia, perhaps, would support the views of England. Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury had shown themselves very moderate about Asia; but on the Asiatic question Austria would be with us if we helped to give her Bosnia and Herzegovina, which were an actual necessity to her, being at present a standing menace, and requiring an army of intervention which did not intervene.

I asked what Russia would do about Bulgaria. He replied, everything we wanted. England had acknowledged—and no one more than Lord Salisbury—that old Turkey could not be restored, and that the Christian populations must be properly governed. Bulgaria would, therefore, be divided into two provinces with independent governors, and the frontiers of Greece would undergo a rectification so as to satisfy the Greeks. I then asked him about the Suez Canal, to which he replied that on that head the interests of England and Austria were identical.

“Suppose, notwithstanding all this, war breaks out, can we count on Austria as an ally?”

“Not at this moment. If war breaks out, we must see what is the attitude of Russia and of Germany.”

“Then,” I asked, “is not this the position? If you become our ally, it will only be after hostilities have begun. We cannot make use of your alliance prospectively, so as to prevent hostilities?”

M. Hoffmann did not deny this. He said the Hungarian Ministers were there to consider not only the *Ausgleich*, but the aspect of foreign affairs; and, he added, before making war they had to consider their finances, which were already overburdened. I stated my belief that, in case of war, England would be prepared to assist the financial position of Austria.

He replied: “That would be indispensable. We have 800,000 men and 500,000 reserves. The basis of an alliance with us would be subsidies on a large scale. For the first three months we should require £30,000 sterling to mobilise our army, and our expenditure would go on at that rate.”

My conversation with this Minister certainly confirmed the report I had heard that he was very much in the interests of Prussia. Later on I had an interview with Baron Orczy, a Hungarian. He feared the negotiations would be delayed owing to the illness of the two Chancellors. He did not believe in any great danger to Russia from secret societies, the proportions of which had been much exaggerated, especially by the excited imagination of Poles. Poles were always plotting, and wherever

three Poles met, one was a spy. It would be useless to attack Russia by an insurrection in Poland, which Germany would suppress.

It was rumoured that the Austrian Government had decided to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina at once.

From Vienna I went to Pesth. On my way I met in the train Count Albert Apponyi, to whom I had brought a letter, and who has since become one of the most prominent of Hungarian politicians. He was travelling with a friend, whose name I forget. Both were members of the Hungarian Chamber, and both were Conservatives, strong opponents of M. Tisza and of Count Andrassy. Their opinion, however, was that while it would be well to weaken Andrassy by upsetting Tisza, it was dangerous to do more than upset Tisza at that moment. They were going to try to overthrow him on some of the details of the *Ausgleich*. Their proposed leader was M. Bitto, but they feared the accession to power of M. Slavy, who was on good terms with Count Andrassy. On the Eastern Question they were anti-Russian, but moderate. They considered the object of Andrassy to be the legitimisation of his occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the Congress, and that his policy, whether he went to war or not, was merely one of greater or less annexation. Though not objecting to the minor annexation, they did not look upon this as a policy in itself.

Count Apponyi considered the Eastern Question

to be the reorganisation, in an anti-Russian sense, of the whole of South-Eastern Europe. He could not contemplate the reconstruction of the Turkish Empire. That Empire had two functions: one it performed badly, viz., the government of the subject races; the second, that of acting as a military barrier against the advance of Russia, it performed well. In reconstructing the government of the Provinces, care must be taken to erect some equally effective barrier against Russia. For this purpose, the Danube fortresses should be kept in Turkish hands, and a triple line should be formed against the advance of Russia towards the Mediterranean by keeping her beyond the Pruth, and by placing between her and the sea an independent Roumania, the Danube, and the Balkans.

In Hungary I found the greatest admiration for Lord Beaconsfield's policy. Talking of Lord Salisbury's Circular, Count Apponyi said to me, "*Elle a rendu le souffle à l'Europe.*" Speaking of Lord Beaconsfield, he said, "*Il est l'idole des Hongrois.*"

I saw a good deal of Count Albert Apponyi. He was then about thirty-two years old, a strict Roman Catholic, and, I believe, very eloquent. M. D'Urmenyi, his chief associate, was of an old noble family, excessively pleasant and agreeable, and deeply interested in politics.

There was a capital club at Pesth, called the "Casino," where I dined. Afterwards I went to see *Les Cloches de Corneville* played in Hungarian.

The acting was very vivacious, and the singing good. A little Hungarian actress seemed to play very much like a Frenchwoman.

The next morning I went to the Chamber, which opened for the first time after the recess. The proceedings were carried on with great order, but with less solemnity than our own. The seats were arranged in a horseshoe, and there were lobbies round the house, something like our division lobbies, though not used for that purpose. Members walked about there smoking. I was introduced to MM. Pulszki, father and son, the latter a deputy; to Baron Simonyi and M. Ernest Simonyi, to M. Bitto, M. Slavy, and a great many other members, some of whom I had seen the day before at the "Casino."

There seemed to be a growing distaste to Count Andrassy, owing to his vacillation on the Eastern Question. As more than one member said to me, "Our Government is like yours before Lord Derby's resignation. We do not know what it is about."

What the Hungarians really wanted was war. They feared the retrocession of Bessarabia and the establishment of Russia in Bulgaria, which would give Russia the control of the Danube. They thought war must come sooner or later, and that there could never be a more favourable time for it. Russia was much weakened, while the Austrian army was never in a more efficient state. This they feared would not last long on account of financial difficulties.

Hungary, I found, was clearly the stronger party in the Dual Government. It was united in the Delegations, while the Austrian side was grouped under nationalities. The result was that whenever a division took place in the Delegations, which was not often, Hungary obtained the majority by voting solid, and by detaching one or two of the German sections. For instance, it obtained a vote respecting some ironclads for the Danube by detaching the Tyrolese vote from the German side.

In the afternoon I went by appointment to Buda, to see M. Tisza, the Hungarian Minister-President. All the Hungarians of the Ministerial Party seemed to be much oppressed by the Eastern Question. They knew the popular feeling to be entirely against Russia. They even sympathised with it, but did not venture to declare themselves, owing to the difficulties on the German side.

M. Tisza asked me what I thought were the intentions of the English Government as regards war. I answered, as usual, that they had a strong desire for peace, but meant to obtain what we wanted from Russia even at the risk of war. He thought the influence and prevalence of Nihilism much exaggerated, and considered that the fear of war would be greater than that of the secret societies. The Russians had suffered much. He pitied them as men, but not as Russians. He assured me on his honour as a gentleman, and not as a Minister, that never was a man worse informed than Lord Derby when he believed in the

possible defection of any portion of the Austrian army. The Parliament, he told me, were about to discuss the *Ausgleich*—the chief difficulties arising from the want of “Parliamentaryism” in the Austrian Parliament.

The Minister then asked me if I had seen many persons in Pesth, and seemed relieved when I answered that I had met some of every colour. I said I hoped that if England went to war, we should have Austria with us. To this he answered : “I will frankly tell you my views. We cannot in any way accept the Treaty of San Stefano. To do so would be an abdication on our part. But if England hopes to settle this question peacefully, how much more must we wish it, owing to the peculiar and difficult position in which we are placed. Before going to war, we must mobilise, and mobilisation extends to every family, to every shop and bank. We cannot accept the Treaty of San Stefano, but we hope for peace.”

I went again to the Chamber on the following day, and an interpellation was put on the subject of the rumoured occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Questions were put at the end of the sitting without notice, and answered by the Minister as he wished, either at once, or on the Saturday following. The interpellation was preceded by a speech, and if there was time it might be discussed ; but the House closed religiously at two. Afterwards I went to see Count Lonyay, an old acquaintance, for whom I had the greatest

admiration. He had for some time retired from public affairs, but he had been Prime Minister of Hungary, and, later, Finance Minister for the whole Empire. In his opinion the Tisza Cabinet was doomed, and could never recover from the discussions on the *Ausgleich*.

I returned home by way of Berlin, where I saw a German statesman who assured me that Germany would observe a strict neutrality in case of war, even if Austria joined. The desire of Germany was for peace; but if she saw two friends fighting, while regretting it, she would not join in the struggle, unless her own interests were attacked.

CHAPTER LII

Berlin Congress—Prince Bismarck—Reception of British Plenipotentiaries—Commission on Eastern Roumelia—Journey to Constantinople—Difficulties with the Turks—Constantinople—Eastern Roumelia—Philippopolis.

LORD SALISBURY, meanwhile, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, had sent Count Münster an acceptance of the invitation of Germany to join in a Congress to be held at Berlin. In this invitation the German Government entirely admitted the *sine qua non* demand by England, that the stipulations of the Treaty of San Stefano, between Russia and Turkey, should be fully laid before the Congress. The date of the meeting was fixed for June 13.

The Plenipotentiaries appointed for Great Britain were Lord Beaconsfield, Lord Salisbury, and Lord Odo Russell, our Ambassador at Berlin, who had proved himself as acceptable to the Kaiser as he had been to the Pope.

A curious anecdote was told by Lord Odo himself of the ease of his relations with Prince Bismarck. One day, when sitting with the Chancellor, Lord Odo Russell asked him whether he did not find it very inconvenient if foreign

representatives prolonged their interviews unduly. The Prince replied that he had an arrangement with the Princess whereby she used to make some excuse for sending for her husband, when she thought that a visitor had remained long enough. At that moment a servant came in and told Prince Bismarck, from the Princess, that it was time for him to take his medicine.

The Chancellor's remarks during the Congress were sometimes very amusing. On one occasion, when alluding to some provision of the Treaty of Berlin, he said: "This question will have to be treated by the Prince of Bulgaria—if there exists in the world a being unfortunate enough to take up that position."

Count Andrassy also gave an answer, still a tradition in the diplomatic world. After the Conference at which it was decided, under Article XXV., that Austria was to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina, Count Corti, the Italian representative, said to Count Andrassy, "But, my dear Count, your occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina is nothing but an annexation badly disguised."

Count Andrassy's reply was, "Very badly disguised!"

Prince Bismarck's sayings have been much quoted, and come to my mind especially at this moment. His first post of importance was that of Minister for Prussia to the German Confederation, and he was consequently a member of the Diet of

Frankfort. The Austrian Minister, who, under treaty, was the perpetual President of the Diet, asserted the privilege of not leaving cards on the other Ministers, saying that he was in an isolated position of great dignity. On one occasion, however, he received orders from his Government to leave cards on Baron Bismarck—as he then was. Determined not to do so in his capacity as President of the Diet, he had a special card prepared, only giving his title as “Chamberlain of His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty,” thus drawing a distinction between his private appellations and his public office.

To this Prince Bismarck replied by having a card prepared to leave in return, on which was engraved, “Baron von Bismarck, Königlicher Landwehr-Lieutenant.”

At the time of the differences between Germany and Spain respecting the Caroline Islands, the mob in Spain had been very violent, had torn down the escutcheon of the arms of the German Embassy, and had burnt it on the Puerta del Sol. In the midst of the correspondence caused by these difficulties, some anniversary took place on which it was usual for the King and Queen to hold a reception. The German Minister telegraphed to ask Prince Bismarck whether in the circumstances he should attend the ceremony. He received the following reply:—

“Since it does not appear that the King and Queen personally took part in the attack on the

Legation, I do not see why you should not attend their reception."

During the time of the negotiations between the King of Prussia and the other rulers of the German States, some of the secondary sovereigns showed great reluctance to come in to the proposed agreement. Prince Bismarck paid a visit to one of these rulers, and what I relate was told me by a person present at the interviews which then took place. On the first day, at dinner, some one made allusion to the well-known story of the King of Prussia—perhaps Frederick the Great—being prevented from carrying out some building operations by the opposition of a small shop-keeper who declined to surrender his rights. Prince Bismarck said, with great significance, "It is easier to dispossess a secondary German sovereign than to expropriate, against his will, the smallest citizen of Berlin."

On their return from the Congress, Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury had a great ovation at Charing Cross Station in honour of their success at Berlin. The Conservative Party gave them a great dinner, for which the Duke of Wellington lent his riding-school at Knightsbridge. He was good enough to give me his own private box, which I handed over to the Committee for any ladies who wished to be admitted. It was at this dinner that Lord Beaconsfield described Mr. Gladstone as "a sophisticated politician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity."

I am enclosing the way through the mountains of the
 Dronoghere
 John A. Tully. of the People's Republic
 of the United States

EASTERN ROMELIAN COMMISSION.

By Article XVIII. of the Treaty of Berlin, a European Commission was to be formed to elaborate, in accord with the Ottoman Porte, the organisation of Eastern Roumelia.

The real question which it was destined to solve was the evacuation by the Russians of that province. This obligation their very able representatives managed to evade for some time, and, although the Treaty laid down that the Commission was to be determined in a period of three months, it was not really ended until the spring of 1879.

By a Commission under Sign-Manual, sent to me on August 7, 1878, I was appointed Commissioner for Great Britain. Lord Donoughmore, who had for some time been Private Secretary to Lord Carnarvon, was appointed Assistant Commissioner. Mr. Cartwright, of the Foreign Office, was attached to the Mission as Secretary, and Mr. Robert Horace Walpole—now Lord Orford—was attached as my Private Secretary.

The other Commissioners were men of great mark. The representative of Germany, M. de Braunschweig, though till then he had only filled minor posts, had a great reputation in official life.

The Commissioner for Austria-Hungary was M. de Kallay, a man who had occupied several prominent positions, and was a good Slavonic scholar, having made a special study of all Slav tongues, chiefly of Russian, both ancient and modern. His name was Kallay of Nagy-Kallo—a kind of

O'Donoghue of the Glens—and he had no other title, for he came of an ancient Hungarian family anterior to the creation of titles. He had been a leading member of the Hungarian Parliament, and was a strong supporter of Count Andrassy's foreign policy. At one time, M. de Kallay had been the diplomatic representative of Austria in Servia. Afterwards he was appointed Minister of Finance in Austria-Hungary—a post without many duties, for he had merely to apportion the taxation between the local Finance Ministers of Austria and Hungary. Bosnia and Herzegovina had been allotted to Austria-Hungary jointly, which were represented by what were called the three Imperial Ministers, namely, the Chancellor and the Ministers of War and Finance. To M. de Kallay was subsequently allotted the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

I had known M. de Kallay for some time, though but slightly, and may perhaps here quote a letter which I received from Sir William White, then our Minister at Bucarest :—

I have been very happy to hear that you and M. de Kallay, my old friend, have worked so well together. Unfortunately for Austria, there are not many Kallays in the Imperial Service.

For France, the representative was Baron de Ring, a man well known as Professor of International Law, and as having served in different positions under the French Foreign Office. He was afterwards Under-Secretary for Foreign

Affairs in France, and occupied various other high offices. His assistant was M. de Coutouly, who was very much under the protection of M. Waddington, and had long been known as an intelligent public writer. He was a native of Pau, and a Protestant.

Italy had a very pleasant representative in Chevalier Vernoni. He had, for a long time, been Chief Dragoman to the Italian Embassy at Constantinople.

The Russian Commissioner was Colonel Scheplew, a most conciliatory and sympathetic man. His associate was Prince Tzeretelew, a great Pan-slavist, and a wild enthusiast for the progress of Russia. He was decorated with the three classes of the Order of St. George, given to soldiers below the rank of officer—privates, corporals, and sergeants. Prince Tzeretelew told us that, having accompanied the army all the way to San Stefano, he and some others—though it was in the depth of winter—had bathed in the Mediterranean, to feel that they could do so when under the dominion of their own country. He came from the Caucasus, and it was said that his family was originally Italian, and bore the name of Ceretelli. Prince Tzeretelew was somewhat excitable—a tendency which, I believe, ultimately killed him.

Turkey was represented by Assim Pasha, who had been President of the Council and Minister of State several times. He was subsequently

Minister for Foreign Affairs. Abro Effendi was the second Turkish representative, a well-informed Armenian gentleman, who had long been in the Turkish service.

The Secretaries to the Commission have since then achieved for themselves most distinguished positions. One of them, Selim Pasha, who was appointed by the Turks, is now Minister of Public Works in Turkey. M. Isvolsky, who was also Secretary to Prince Tzeretelew, for whom he had a great admiration, was a very young man and a favourite with everybody. He is now Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, and seems destined to do much good in his generation. M. Rozet, the French Secretary, was appointed for purposes of *réduction*. He afterwards became a member of the French Parliament.

It is very odd how impossible it is for foreigners—however well they may know French—to compose correctly in that language. Although every one of the Commissioners knew French well, all of them—even the Russians—were at times compelled to obtain assistance, either from the French Commissioners or from the French Secretary.

Accompanied by Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Walpole, I passed through Vienna, on my way to Constantinople, to see Sir Henry Elliot, our Ambassador. He received us most kindly, and gave us all the information and advice in his power. Then and later he did all he could to help the Commission, and was most successful in keeping

the British Cabinet in harmony with that of Austria-Hungary.

At Vienna, I met Count Nesselrode, whom I had previously known in London, and who spoke to me very highly both of Prince Dondoukoff and Prince Tzeretelew. Count Nesselrode was the son of the celebrated Chancellor. He was the brother of the Countess Seebach, whose husband, as Bavarian Minister at Paris, had done much to restore peace. The Countess Chreptovitch, who is mentioned elsewhere, was another sister of Count Nesselrode's. I also saw Caratheodory Pasha, who had been Plenipotentiary at the Congress of Berlin. He was shortly afterwards made Minister for Foreign Affairs. It was thought at that time that he might become Governor of Eastern Roumelia.

One great difficulty in all my dealings with Turks was that they seemed to consider the object of the Commission to be not only the reversal of the Treaty of San Stefano, but the restoration of the province of Eastern Roumelia to the condition of a Turkish vilayet. And this I found was also the opinion of many Englishmen and others who sympathised with Turkey. Such a course was evidently impracticable; for, while it was the determination of the Powers at Berlin to prevent Roumelia from becoming part of a semi-independent principality like Bulgaria, it was not intended to restore abuses which certainly had previously existed.

On leaving Vienna we proceeded to Pesth,

where we stayed for some days to see Count Albert Apponyi and other Hungarian politicians. From them I obtained most useful information; and this visit proved to be of the greatest possible value, as it secured to me the support, not only of the Austro-Hungarian Government, but also that of the prominent members of the Hungarian Opposition, who were then assuming great importance.

We were detained for some time at Constantinople, while a discussion went on concerning the future scene of our operations. Some were in favour of the Commission holding its sittings at Constantinople itself, while others wished to proceed to Philippopolis. The latter opinion finally prevailed. Meanwhile we had had preliminary discussions with the Turkish Minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Commission held its first meeting at Therapia on October 1, 1878.

At Constantinople I received great assistance from all the *corps diplomatique*. The German Ambassador, Count Hatzfeldt, was excessively kind, as was Count Radolinsky, the Councillor of the German Embassy. He is now Prince Radolin, and German Ambassador in Paris.

Monsieur Fournier, the French Ambassador, and his Councillor, Count Montholon, of the old Napoleonic family, were equally friendly and serviceable. The Austrian Ambassador was Count Zichy.

The Russian Ambassador, Prince Labanoff,

was a man of great culture and charm of manner. To him the Commission were much indebted for his constant endeavours to smooth down difficulties. He subsequently became Ambassador in London. Count Corti, the Italian Ambassador, had been a friend of mine for more than thirty years. He was the Italian Plenipotentiary at the Berlin Congress, and was later on Ambassador in London.

From Sir Henry Layard, our Ambassador, and Sir Edward Malet, First Secretary of Embassy, I obtained all the help that could be given. Owing to their general diplomatic experience, as well as their special knowledge of the East, the assistance they rendered was of the greatest possible value.

While the Commission were at Constantinople, Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Walpole made various expeditions into Eastern Roumelia, and from them I received a number of valuable reports as to the condition of the province. It may be interesting if I here give a letter written to me from Philippopolis by Lord Donoughmore alone, during the first of these expeditions. Though rather long, it gives the key to much of what subsequently took place. It has already been published—but not officially—and is well known, as it formed the subject of a newspaper discussion.

Yesterday afternoon I received a long visit from Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, the Imperial Russian Commissioner. He was afterwards joined by Colonel Alexander Schepelew, late Governor of the town, and now Commissioner on the

part of the Russian Imperial Government for the reorganisation of Eastern Roumelia.

The following is an account of my interview with these gentlemen.

The Prince, who arrived alone, asked if I was here officially. I said, yes, under instructions from my colleagues. He replied he had no doubt I was instructed, but that it was impossible that any of the Commissioners should have a real official position before the Commission had met, and that he desired to speak to me familiarly as a "private gentleman."

He began by saying that, as far as he was able, he should put every obstacle in his power against the carrying out of the English programme, whatever it might be. There was no use disguising the fact. We were face to face as enemies, and he and his countrymen were, as it were, upon their trial. He said there would be disagreements, and very serious disagreements, at and from the very first sittings of the Commission. He ridiculed the Treaty of Berlin, the Rhodope Commission, the Eastern Roumelian Commission, and everything that had been done at or since the Congress by the titles of "Offenbachisms," *comédies*, *bouffanades*, *bouffonneries*, and such-like expressions.

With regard to the meeting at Philippopolis, the Prince said he thought it would be one of the first questions raised, and though he admitted that reasons might be advanced in favour of the Commission sitting here, he stated his views in favour of the locality being Constantinople. If there had not been a provisional Government already formed here, he could understand that the necessity for the meeting of the Commission at Philippopolis might be defended; but he stated he was prepared to hand over his system in its entirety, as far as administrative and judicial matters were concerned. The manner in which Governors of Sandjaks and Cazes had been appointed; the instructions to those officers; the mode of enrolment of the police, and all the details of the force, with the instructions to its officers; the regulations as to the administration of justice; in fact, the details of the entire judicial and administrative system, were

now in the press, and he would hand them to the Commission when it took over the regulation of the province.

At about this time Colonel Schepelw arrived and joined in the conversation.

Both gentlemen attempted to impress upon me that the existing Constitution being thus placed in the hands of the Commission, it could perfectly well discuss it at a distance, and could send any agents it pleased to glean information in the districts. The General added an expression of opinion as to the treatment such messengers would probably receive, which, if correct, would augur ill for their personal safety.

Prince Dondoukoff also alluded to the existence of the Militia, treating it as having been enrolled according to the principles laid down in the Treaty of Berlin; but would only admit the existence of nine "legions," of 1000 men each. He pointed out what would occur when, according to the Treaty, the officers to be nominated by the Sultan were appointed to their corps. He expressed his certain conviction that the Russian officers would break their swords, and that the Bulgarian soldiers would murder (his expression was *mettront une baionette dans le ventre*) the Turkish or Greek officer sent to them. There would then be a corps without officers or petty officers, composed of *canaille*, who would go to the hills, guns and all, and become nothing better than a gang of bandits.

He stated that the only means he could think of for preserving order in the corps for a time was, during the occupation, to incorporate it with the Russian Army. This step would at least secure order for nine months or a year; but he added, "*Et puis, après notre départ, le déluge.*"

He further drew my attention to the fact that after the retirement of the great bulk of the Russian Army, and his own departure from the province on the appointment of a Turkish Governor-General, it would be perfectly vain to attempt to maintain order in the country. He himself would be at Sofia, or perhaps farther off. It would be impossible to communicate with him with sufficient rapidity; and even if it were, he desired to know from whom the orders would come. He stated the movement of his troops

to be a matter not to be regulated by Ambassadors or Commissioners, but by Imperial orders alone.

The Prince further stated his determination not to surrender any part, however small, of the control of the finances of the province, and remarked at the same time, in a sarcastic tone, that he did not understand how the administration was to be carried on by the Commission unless it had the control of the finances. He said the occupying Army was to be supported at the expense of the occupied country; that the finances were requisite for this purpose, and that therefore he would not surrender them; but that there was a small surplus which he would hand over to the Commissioners to do what they liked with. You will perceive he thus threatened to retain not only funds for the support of his troops, but those necessary for the payment of salaries to civil officials. He did not, however, include in his estimate the expenses of the Militia, which, at the rate of 100 roubles per annum per man, he placed at 9000 roubles. He seemed now, as before, to have forgotten all about the second levy.

He said the only way he saw out of the difficulty was for the Committee to adopt the Constitution he has instituted, and to revise it if necessary, leaving the arrangements for the government of the province which now exists *in statu quo*, until such revision is completed. These arrangements were, he stated, based upon the laws for the vilayets, with some emendations, such as the abolition of dime-farming in this province, and were therefore conformable to the plan laid down by the Treaty of Berlin. He stated that he had not abolished the dime-farming at Adrianople, because the locality was Turkish, and added that the difference between the English and his countrymen was that we were the friends of the *canaille turque*, while they were the supporters of the *canaille bulgare*.

Under any circumstances, he did not think matters could remain quiet for more than a few months, and that things must culminate in another Congress. From the way he said it he meant another war.

On his departure, while assuring me of his personal

regard, the Prince reiterated his determination to create obstacles, and again described the circumstances and the Treaty that had led to the appointment of the Commission as a farce.

During the conversation the Prince did not allude to the present condition of the Turks, or the ill-treatment they have undergone and are undergoing at present. He merely stated that he had been able to produce a certain amount of order out of chaos, and hinted that this was as much as could be expected under the circumstances.

His manner throughout was of a very genial and even jovial nature, and he seemed to derive considerable satisfaction from the invention of derisory epithets for the Congress of Berlin and other official acts which have followed it.

I did not consider it part of my duty to reply in any way to any of the Prince's arguments or assertions, or to express either assent or dissent with them.

Colonel Schepelew remained for some moments after the General's departure. He seemed to consider it a matter of doubt whether the Porte would have the right to nominate a Commissioner at all, and appeared to wish to ignore her altogether. He was anxious for information as to the manner in which the business of the Commission was to be conducted, and whether the recording was to be by Protocol or *Compte-Rendu*, or how. I was unable to give him any information upon these subjects.

I have already informed you that Colonel Schepelew is about to proceed to Constantinople to-morrow. He appeared to concur entirely in the Imperial Governor's views, and supported him in them, if not in the same jocular strain, at all events earnestly.

Towards the end of October the Commission proceeded to Philippopolis. Life in that town was strange and novel. Philippopolis is built on a huge rock, which springs unexpectedly from the banks of the Maritza, and stands alone in the midst of a

plain. At a distance, on one side, are the Balkans, on the other the Rhodope.

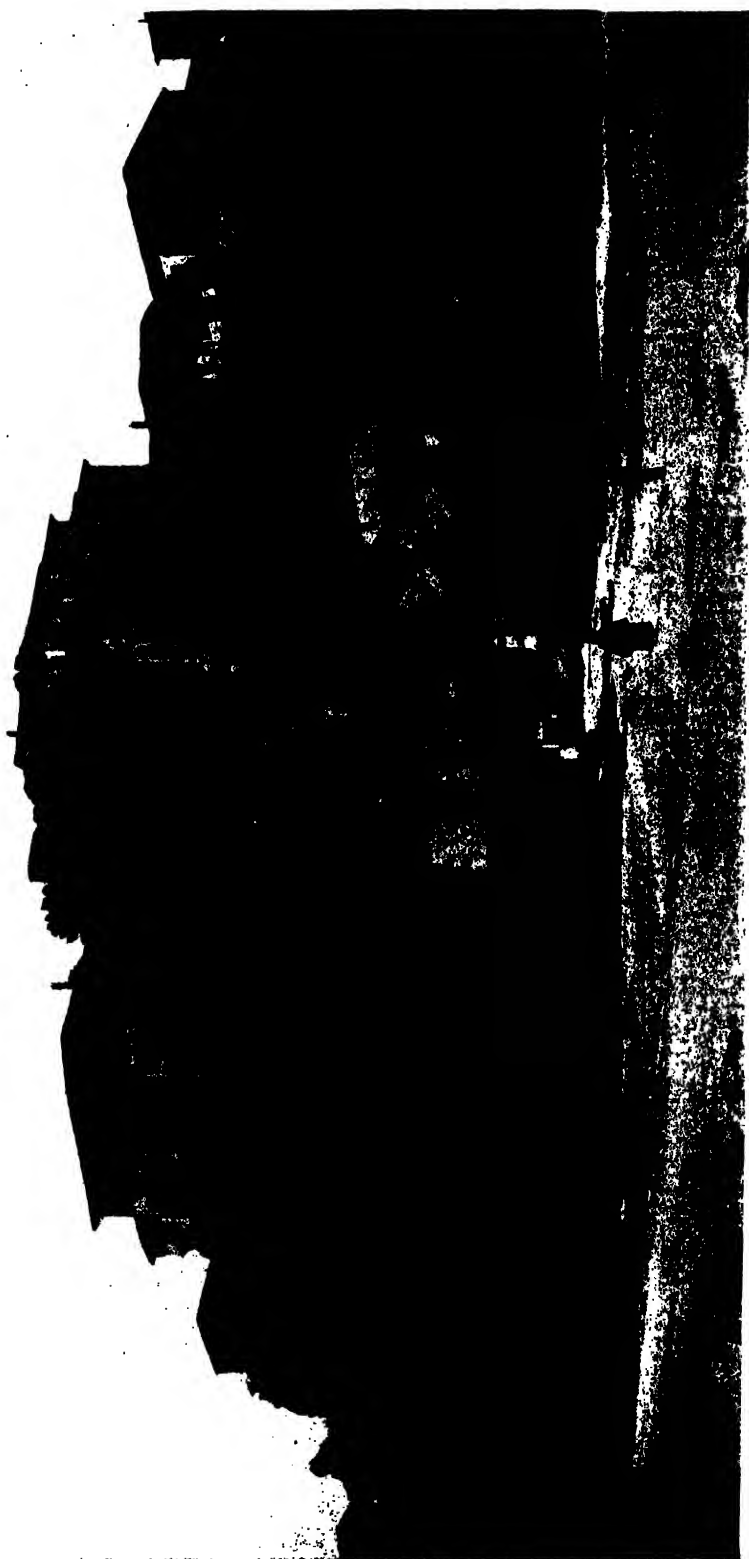
The outskirts of the town were all in ruins, but here and there an old inhabitant clung to his home.

Our house was situated at the top of the town, and was of very peculiar construction. The ground-floor had evidently always been used in the winter. The upper floors were arranged for summer use. There was a large sitting-room, all the upper part of which was glass, and one or two bedrooms opened out of it.

The Commission took a house lower down the town for its offices, and for some of the persons attached to the Commission. We met two or three times a week, the Secretaries keeping the records, which were embodied in protocols.

Fortunately, during the whole of the duration of the Commission, the views of nearly all the Powers were consonant, and I never found myself in a minority of one. The rule being that unanimity was necessary for the adoption of a regulation enabled any one country, merely by abstinence, to stop actions of which she might disapprove; but I am happy to say that I never found myself in opposition to the general views of the Commission, and never had occasion to exercise my right of veto on the decisions of the others.

Among my other visitors was Baron Fernand de Beeckman, who had great powers as an artist.



PHILIPPOROLIS.
By Baron Fernand de Beeckman.

He was most agreeable and obliging, and made several sketches which he gave me. Some of the other Commissioners declared that I had brought him to Philippopolis with a view to his becoming Governor of Eastern Roumelia.

CHAPTER LIII

**Treaty of Berlin—Turks and Bulgarians—Distress in Philippopolis—
M. Rainoff—Turkish grievances—Christmas at Philippopolis**

THE Articles of the Treaty of Berlin, which established and regulated the Commission for the organisation of the Province of Eastern Roumelia, were Nos. XVIII., XIX., and XX. By Article XIX. the finances of the Province, until the completion of the new organisation, were to be administered by the European Commission. This Article was really the only weapon given to the Commission to carry out its functions. It was like powers of Supply reserved in this country to the House of Commons. The control over Supply in Eastern Roumelia was a most valuable factor in obtaining the consent of Russia to our proposals, for her representatives, not unnaturally, almost invariably opposed everything.

It was also laid down by Article XXIII. that the Organic Regulation of 1868 should be applied to the Island of Crete, and that the Regulations adopted by the Commission for Eastern Roumelia should be applied to the other Provinces in accord with the Commission. This last stipulation,

however, was never carried out, as great objections to it were discovered both on the part of Russia and the Powers. This was unfortunate. My belief is that, had the Treaty been observed in this respect, much might have been avoided of what has since happened in Macedonia.

This instance of the organisation of dependencies was very different from that which I had experienced in the Ionian Islands. In the latter there were but two races to be dealt with—those of England and of Greece ; but in Eastern Roumelia various nationalities had to be considered. There were Greeks, Armenians, and Wallachs. There were Turks by race, and Bulgarians by race—some of whom professed to be Mussulmans by religion—and there were Jews. All these nationalities had to be taken into consideration in arranging the new state of affairs.

I observed a great contrast between the Turk and the Bulgarian. The Turk was always hospitable, the Bulgarian the reverse ; so much so, that on arriving at a Turkish village, all the inhabitants vied in asking a stranger to their homes, while in Bulgarian villages an officer, called the Tchorbadji, had to be appointed, whose duty it was to billet strangers on houses where they might be entertained.

At one village we saw a Turk sitting with his boy on the bank of a stream. The latter seemed an interesting little fellow, about two years old, and I stooped down, patted him on the cheek,

and gave him a small coin. Almost every day during the rest of my stay did the father call at my house and leave some wild-flowers, which were the only present he could make.

The Bulgarians are not interesting, though they have some good qualities—those of sturdiness and industry.

In the upper classes there were some very intelligent men. One, whose name was Gueshoff, had been brought up in England, and employed in Manchester, where he had learnt English fluently. He had been almost on the point of execution by the Turks, but was got off by English representatives. I found him very useful, as he was a man of moderate views.

It is difficult to narrate in a short compass all the vicissitudes that the Commission had to go through. Not among the least was the great distress that existed both among the Turks and the Bulgarians. On this account a fund-- to which the houses of Rothschild and of Baring subscribed liberally—was raised in England, to be administered by the British Commissioners. This duty I entrusted to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Walpole and great good was done. They had the assistance of a Bulgarian missionary, M. Tonjouroff, who had married an English wife. A soup-kitchen was organised, which was of great value in the winter months, and we maintained daily about four thousand indigent Turks and others.

The Bulgarians, partly from political antipathy,

and partly from fear of the return of the Turks, were absolutely opposed to the restoration of the Province to Turkey, even with the regulations established by the Commission. We had petitions from Turkish villages and from Bulgarians, complaining of the state in which the Province had been left. In Philippopolis itself thirty-three mosques had been destroyed, or applied to Russian purposes. These statements I verified myself, and I learned that since the arrival of the Commission the Russian authorities had revived an old order, fallen into disuse, strictly prohibiting any Moslem residing on the north side of the river Maritza from crossing the bridge to the southern portion of the city. This was evidently intended to prevent suffering Moslems from representing their grievances in other quarters. Petition after petition was laid before the Commission. On all sides we received representations—now against the Turks, now against the Bulgarians. One petition in particular, presented to me by the widows of Carlovo, was most heartrending. It began with an expression of their relief at the arrival of the representatives of the Great Powers at Plovdiv (the Bulgarian name for Philippopolis), and ran somewhat as follows :—

The undersigned 864 widows of Carlovo have had the misfortune of losing their husbands, their brothers, and their sons in a horrible manner during the past year. Hitherto no one has called upon the murderers to answer for their crimes. Civilised Europe has ever been considered the judge, the generous protector of the weak and persecuted. We

therefore beg the Commissioners to demand of the Sultan and his Ministers why they permit their soldiers and the Turkish population to assassinate and hang our husbands, our brothers, and sons, and to rob us even of our last rags.

This, they declared, had been done in the presence of the Caimacam of the town, and of a large number of military and civil pashas, as well as before two charitable foreigners from the West, who had come to distribute rice and salt, but whose names and nationality they had been unable to ascertain.

Maddened with fear and sorrow [the petition went on], we ran after each pasha and each stranger and begged for protection and mercy. We showed them the bodies of our dead husbands and sons, putrefying in the streets. We showed them our beloved children, starving and maddened with fear. We implored them to put an end to this horrible, ceaseless carnage, and to the fury of the Bashi-Bazouks who ravaged the town. . . .

Yet soldiers continued their pillage, and Circassians their massacres. The authorities went on incessantly imprisoning and hanging night and day. This lasted from the 19th July until the 27th December, the day of the arrival of the Russian troops in our town.

It was in consequence of this petition that I begged Mr. Walpole, and Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, the *Times* correspondent, to proceed to Carlovo, and to examine into the truth of these statements.

In November 1878 I received a visit from M. Rainoff, the Bulgarian local Governor of Carlovo, whose acquaintance Mr. Walpole had made. After a long conversation, I found that he was in complete ignorance of the object of the Commission. I earnestly pressed on him the necessity of not

coming to a foregone conclusion on our labours, but to wait and hear our proposals. I told him we had not come as enemies of the Bulgarians, but as their friends. I went through the Treaties of Paris and of Berlin with him, showing the broad difference between the reference to the Hatti-Humayoun in the first, and the provisions relating to Eastern Roumelia in the second. He seemed much struck by the programme I showed him, prepared by M. de Kallay, which appeared to put before him a new view of our duties.

M. Rainoff, I had been informed by Messrs. Walpole and Wallace, was a man of considerable influence, which he exercised honestly. He was educated at Vienna, where he had lived for some years as a merchant, and he told me he had gone to England in 1869 to see Mazzini. He was a Republican—as indeed he declared were nearly all his fellow-countrymen. His dream was a confederation of South Slavonic Republics, under the protection of Austria, or even a South Slavonic Empire under the house of Hapsburg. He said the Bulgarians were at that time necessarily under the influence of Russia, who had liberated them from the Turks.

M. Rainoff went away with very friendly expressions ; promised to come and see me whenever he came to Philippopolis, and to advise his friends to do so as well. He re-echoed the regret I expressed that I had so few opportunities of seeing his fellow-countrymen. He acknowledged

that he had been in correspondence with the Moscow Committee, but this he considered a duty in the interests of his country.

Among other fears expressed by M. Rainoff was the apprehension that all races were to be placed on the same footing; that in every representation there was to be one Greek, one Bulgarian, one Jew, one Turk, and one Armenian, so that the Bulgarians would be in a minority. I reassured him on this point, and he was quite satisfied that minorities should have their due proportion in the representation.

An arrangement had been made between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff, whereby I was empowered to represent to the Governor-General any grievance undergone by Turks. This understanding was more or less recognised, though I found great difficulty at times in obtaining attention to my representations. In fact, one time, when the Financial Commission, consisting of Lord Donoughmore and the second French Commissioner, visited some places to go through the local treasury, they were absolutely refused access to accounts, and were obliged to leave the towns.

On one occasion, with a view to placing on record some of the representations made to me, I read a letter addressed to the members of the Commission, which ran as follows :—

Je soussignée Fatma, fille d'Ali, domiciliée au quartier de Hafiz Pacha à Kutchukyaka (Philippopoli), j'ai l'honneur d'exposer ce qui suit :—

Le Samedi, 14 Octobre, vers huit heures de la nuit, les gendarmes Bulgares, Vassil, Petro, et Vassil, se sont introduits de vive force dans ma maison et ont cherché à me déshonorer. Sur l'opposition de mon mari Ismail, les trois sus-nommés l'ont fait sortir hors de la maison, l'ont renversé par terre et l'ont tellement frappé avec les talons de leurs bottes qu'il a expiré sous leurs coups. Laissant le corps de mon mari hors de la maison, ces trois forcenés sont entrés dans ma chambre et se sont portés sur ma personne aux derniers outrages. Mes cris redoublés ont réveillé les voisins, mais la frayeur les a empêchés de me porter secours.

Le lendemain mes voisins ont voulu enterrer mon infortuné mari, mais la police Bulgare s'y étant opposée, le corps est resté ainsi pendant trois jours.

Le troisième jour deux officiers et trois médecins sont venus examiner le cadavre, l'ont ouvert, et ont reconnu que la mort avait été causée par le violence des coups.

Ils ont même emporté le poumon dans un papier.

J'ai voulu venir de ce côté de la rivière porter plainte de ces faits, mais le passage du pont m'a été interdit; j'ai dû par conséquent et à grande peine traverser à gué le Maritza.

A raison des faits plus haut relatés, je viens, au nom de l'humanité, demander à votre honorable Commission que justice soit faite, et que les auteurs de cet acte de sauvagerie inouïe reçoivent la punition qu'ils ont méritée.

Si l'honorable Commission ne prend pas ma demande en considération, je n'ai d'autre espoir qu'en la justice Divine.

(Signé) FATMA,
Fille d'Ali.

At Christmas I was left quite 'alone, and life was very dreary looking out on nothing but the bleakness of the Balkans. It was made worse by certain incidents. Some four or five hundred Turks from a distant village, where they were cultivating their land, were brought by the Russians with their household goods, and were on the point of

being sent to Adrianople. I got scent of this, and, having received instructions for such cases, I wrote to the Governor-General a very strong letter which he answered in the middle of the night, saying that the people had been brought in this way by mistake of the police. They were then sent back, comfortably enough, to the village.

CHAPTER LIV

Prince Dondoukoff—Russian opposition—Russian Governor of Eastern Roumelia—General Todleben—Despatch to Lord Salisbury—"Gymnastic Societies"—Difficulties with Russia—Militia—Proclamations by the Emperor of Russia—Signature of Organic Statute—Dinner with the Sultan—Installation of Governor—Final results of Commission.

BESIDES many other difficulties, we had *a priori* the opposition of Russia to everything. She, or rather her representatives, resented the abolition of the Treaty of San Stefano, and Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, who was appointed Imperial Commissioner of Bulgaria and Resident at Sophia under that Treaty, declared himself to be absolutely opposed to the Treaty of Berlin.

The Prince was a man who, to his friends, was most acceptable ; of great humour and liveliness, but very impetuous. His ideas were extraordinary. After a long correspondence he was instructed by the Russian Government to furnish the Commission with the accounts of Eastern Roumelia. The reason he assigned to his Government for not giving them to me was that he considered it would be a humiliation for him to do so. He was a man of very strong will, and, though his subordinates

deplored what I may call his wrong-headedness, he persisted in the course he had undertaken. As will be seen, I afterwards met him in the Caucasus, where he was Governor, and my recollections of him personally are most agreeable.

The Russian authorities appeared, at the beginning of the sittings of the Commission, to consider themselves entitled to frustrate its object. At one time they maintained that Turkey had no right to a member on the Commission, on 'the ground of its being laid down that the Commission was to draw up its proposals "in concert with the Turkish Government," a phrase which they said meant that the Commission was to be a body entirely separate from that Government.

Great difficulty was found in obtaining the recognition by the Russians of the opening of an account with the Ottoman Bank, the concession for which evidently conferred upon that institution the right of carrying on its operations in all parts of the Turkish dominions. I took every step to ascertain all the facts, and was greatly assisted by Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Walpole, who made several journeys into the interior. They received much help from Mr. — now Sir Donald — Mackenzie Wallace, who was staying with me, and whose long residence in Russia had given him complete familiarity with the language.

The Governor of Eastern Roumelia was General Stolipine. His wife was a daughter of Prince Gortchakoff, who had commanded in the Crimea,

and to whom General Stolipine had been *aide-de-camp*. I believe that the present Prime Minister of Russia is their son. Prince Gortchakoff was a very absent-minded man, and it was said that when General Stolipine asked permission to marry his daughter, the Prince replied, "Tell my Secretary about it, and he will write a memorandum."

General Stolipine was a man of very fine manners, and great good temper. His position was rather an unfortunate one, as he had been appointed under the provisions of San Stefano, and, by that Treaty, was subordinate to Prince Dondoukoff.

I told the Russian authorities that it was impossible for the Commission to recognise any authority or responsibility in the Prince. Of course, I said, the Russian Government were entitled to place General Stolipine under the orders of any functionary they thought proper, and might subordinate him for their own purposes to the Governor of Tamboff or of Siberia; but the Treaty of Berlin broke up the Bulgaria of San Stefano, and therefore also broke up the extent of Prince Dondoukoff's jurisdiction. General Stolipine's position led to endless disagreements, until at last the Russian Government ordered General Todleben, the Commander-in-Chief, who lived at Adrianople, to repair to Philippopolis and inquire into the differences that had arisen. I saw General Todleben more than once, and was much impressed with his great good sense and moderation. In

fact, he did a great deal towards rendering things smooth and pleasant.

My communications with him were summed up in the following despatch that I addressed to Lord Salisbury on December 25, 1878, from Philippopolis :—

Last night Lord Donoughmore and myself called by appointment on General Todleben, who was passing through this town on his way to Sophia.

I took the opportunity of placing his Excellency in full possession of the situation here. I told him that I was aware of the orders given by the Emperor for the execution of the Treaty of Berlin, but that up to the present the execution of the orders had been to all appearance in a contrary sense.

Our assumption of the finances of the country had not been notified to the population in despite of the request of the Commission, and up to this moment we had not been placed in possession of the revenues of the Province of Slivno. We had lately been informed that in consequence of orders given by Prince Dondoukoff, sums had been reserved from the revenues, for purposes decreed anterior to our arrival, and that there was, in consequence, at present a double financial service, while meanwhile no accounts had been given to us of revenues applicable to the service of the whole year.

I complained, also, of the arming of the peasantry, the storing of the arms, the destruction of houses, and the sending away to Adrianople of Turkish refugees belonging to Eastern Roumelia. I further represented that the subordination of the Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia to the Imperial Commissioner at Sophia was contrary to the spirit of the Treaty of Berlin, the more so as I had recently learnt that Prince Dondoukoff, in virtue of the powers given him over the Bulgaria of San Stefano, was the head of a united militia and a united police.

General Todleben declared that the peasantry had only

been armed to the extent of 2000 rifles to reinforce the police, and stated that the storing of arms was not intended for future distribution, except with the object of keeping order, but was rendered necessary by the re-armament of the Russian army.

He declared his ignorance of the continued destruction of Turkish houses, which ought to be stopped, and he evaded the question of the sending to Adrianople of Turkish refugees.

He was of opinion that we ought to have control of the finances absolutely. He declared that the Maréchal contract, which he regretted, had been made owing to an urgent want of money; and as to the continued authority of the Imperial Commissioner, he stated his belief that, if the Commission or the Governments required it, the administration of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia might be separated. He said it was cheaper to have one staff for the militia instead of two, the staff at Sophia being for the united militia of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia, to which latter there belonged only nine battalions.

I also pointed out that the *Maritza*, which was used as a Government organ, or at all events contained all the Government notices and advertisements, was constantly attributing to the Commission the misfortunes of the Christians in Macedonia, and that when we endeavoured to organise a system of relief for all races and religions, it was opposed by the Russian Commissioners, and at once criticised in that journal. I said that while Her Majesty's Government, and indeed all the Governments, had given instructions of the most conciliatory character to their Commissioners, they were met by the opposition of the Russian authorities. We had been for two months at Philippopolis, and had not got in possession of the finances, and for many questions we were referred to a high functionary at Sophia, of whose authority we had no official cognisance.

His Excellency promised to enquire into the questions I had submitted to him, and repeated his belief that there would be no difficulty in dividing the administrations, while

he gave me every assurance of the strict orders of the Emperor that the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin should be carried out.

I said that all Her Majesty's Government required was the Treaty of Berlin, neither more nor less.

His Excellency was most courteous throughout the interview, which lasted nearly an hour and a half.

I have the honour to enclose a letter addressed to the Finance Committee by General Stolipine, under direction from Prince Dondoukoff, asking for payment of sums due before the administration of the Commission. Your Lordship will perceive that this demand is in direct contradiction to the acts and declarations of the Russian authorities relative to the financial administration of the province, previous to the assumption by the Commission of its financial duties.

I cannot too strongly urge on Her Majesty's Government the great advantage that would be derived materially, and the moral effect that would be produced by the adoption of General Todleben's suggestions that the administration of this province should be entirely separated from that of Bulgaria.

I merely allude to these discussions with Russia to show the difficulties with which she has to deal in controlling her emissaries at long distances. Russians, unfortunately, very often do not confine themselves simply to the carrying out of their instructions, but are animated by political feelings of their own, and by the idea that they can improve upon the schemes of their official superiors. They pay almost as much attention to the opinions of the Moscow Committees and the Moscow press as they do to the instructions given them by their chiefs.

I may say that the Government of Russia, on

all occasions, endeavoured to restrain the over-zeal of their agents, and, in time, the Commission managed to carry its points materially. General Stolipine, as a rule, acted very sensibly ; but at times he was influenced by Prince Dondoukoff, until General Todleben came in as a moderator.

It was curious how the Russians resented any act of the inhabitants showing sympathy with the Commission. The Greek community were making great preparations to give a ball in our honour. General Stolipine, however, told the Greek consul that he considered this manifestation as a demonstration directed against Russia and against himself, and the Greek community were informed accordingly.

Some balls, however, were given : one by General Stolipine himself, at which *sœurs de charité* danced in their Red Cross costumes. Prince Tzeretelew was dressed as a Cossack of Kouban. All went through the queerest kind of national dances.

Our labours were at one time impeded by rumours persistently circulated that the British cause was unsuccessful in Afghanistan. One day, however, a telegram came to me, not in cypher, relating some success on our part. I then found a sudden change of tone towards me, which fortunately was maintained until the end.

Another great difficulty was caused by the formation in the province of what were called "Gymnastic Societies." These really were nothing else but a form of armed organisation, and were a

great danger to the future peace of the country. On this head, representations were made by Lord Salisbury to the Russian Government, and, on April 16, I had a telegram from Lord Salisbury saying that he had received a report from Lord Dufferin of orders having been sent from St. Petersburg to prevent the mobilisation of the Gymnastic Societies of Eastern Roumelia.

Curiously enough, about the same time, General Stolipine refused to place in command of the *gendarmerie* Colonel Vitalis, who had been appointed to that post, unless he first applied for his appointment as a Russian general. I received from him the translation of a letter in Russian, which he had been asked to sign by General Stolipine. Colonel Vitalis had arrived at Constantinople in great anxiety as to his position, believing that an effort was being made to obtain his supersession and the appointment in his stead of Colonel Kissiakoff. The letter in question was very brief, and ran as follows :—

Wishing to serve in the militia of Eastern Roumelia, I beg your Excellency to appoint me to the same.

Colonel Vitalis subsequently published a pamphlet describing his experiences in Eastern Roumelia, and the treatment he had received.

Previous to my leaving for Constantinople, the French and British Embassies had sent their military attachés to Philippopolis—the Vicomte de Torcy, a man of great intelligence and the most agreeable manners, and General Sir

Collingwood Dickson, an old and experienced soldier. To them we were much indebted for assistance in technical matters regarding the militia, which were indispensable to the proper operation of the Constitution drawn up for the Province. As the whole fabric has now disappeared, it is unnecessary to enter into any details of its construction.

Before the Commission made its Report, many of the abuses to which I have referred had been remedied, and the Russian Government had stated that they intended to facilitate the introduction of the Statute.

I heard from Lord Salisbury that Russia proposed to send to Eastern Roumelia General Obreskow, a personage of considerable importance and of Panslavist views, with instructions to exhort the inhabitants of the Province to accept peaceably the new institutions prepared for them. The Emperor of Russia published two proclamations, one to Eastern Roumelia, and one to Sophia, in order to impress upon the inhabitants the necessity of accepting the new Constitution. The Proclamation to Eastern Roumelia began as follows :—

Bulgarians of Eastern Roumelia! Having adopted the firm intention of observing the resolutions of the Treaty of Berlin, and recognising that it is only by the carrying out of those resolutions that the rights acquired for you by the force of Russian arms can be secured without fresh sacrifices and convulsions, I have ordered my troops to withdraw from your province on the expiration of the date fixed by Treaty for its occupation.

Though the work of the Commission itself had not been very hard, there had been various difficult circumstances accessory to our labours. It was the general opinion of Europe that Russia would resist leaving Bulgaria at all. At length, however, a ray of light appeared in the confusion, and the Organic Statute was completed, providing an alternative form of government for the Provinces. The Russian Government itself wisely discouraged Panslavist aspirations, and the work of the Congress of Berlin therefore seemed likely to produce the desired results. Although since that time there have, no doubt, been certain changes of a startling character, on the whole peace has fortunately been maintained; and, in spite of the fact that considerable discontent may always be anticipated in countries whose inhabitants are of different nationalities and of varying religions, it seems as though the Balkan States were calming down. The only obstacle at the present moment is the condition of Macedonia.

The Organic Statute for Eastern Roumelia was signed on April 26, 1879, at Galata-Serai. Protocol LXIV. recorded the completion of the Statute, with a declaration explaining certain stipulations. The following day, the members of the Commission at Constantinople had a dinner in honour of the event. The bill-of-fare was drawn up in the form of Protocol LXV., and is given herewith.

PROTOCOLE No. 65.

Séance extraordinaire du 18/27 Avril 1879

(6 Djémazi-ul-cwcl 1296)

A la Maison C. Lebon et Bourdon.

Etaient présents :

Pour l'Allemagne :

M. DE BRAUNSCHWEIG ;

Pour l'Autriche-Hongrie :

MM. DE KALLAY ET HOROWITZ ;

Pour la France :

LE BARON DE RING, MM. DE COUTOULY, ROZET et SÉON ;

Pour la Grande-Bretagne :

**SIR HENRY DRUMMOND WOLFF, LORD DONOUGHMORE et
M. CARTWRIGHT ;**

Pour l'Italie :

LE CHEVALIER VERNONI et M. CURIEL ;

Pour la Russie :

LE PRINCE TZERETELÉW ;

Pour la Turquie :

SELIM EFFENDI.

La séance est ouverte à 8 heures du soir.

L'ordre du jour appelle :

Potage purée chasseur

Hors-d'œuvres

Turbot à la Normande

Filets Madère aux truffes

Homards à l'Américaine

Aspasic de cailles à la gelée

Punch grand vin Château-Lafite

Poulets de grain rôtis

Salade laitues

Asperges fraîches en tranches

Bombe glacée

Dessert

Tous les articles à l'ordre du jour sont successivement adoptés.

Après un échange d'idées vif et animé la séance est levée à une heure induc.

There had been some talk of appointing a European Governor, and some went so far as to suggest M. de Coutouly, the second French Commissioner, for the post. By the Statute, however, Aleko Pasha, who had for a long time been Secretary to the Turkish Embassy in London, under the name of Prince Vogorides, was appointed Governor of Eastern Roumelia. He was a Christian of Bulgarian origin, and had married a lady of the Armenian family of Baltagi. The Italianised form of this name is Baltazzi. Aleko Pasha's sister was the wife of Musurus Pasha.

Before I left Constantinople, the Sultan was good enough to invite me to dinner, as he had done several times before. On this occasion, Sir Henry Layard was present. His Majesty thanked me for what I had done for his subjects, and offered me an order, which, under the regulations then existing, I was obliged to refuse. He also asked me to write to him, which I did once, and I received an answer signed by himself.

The Commission returned to Philippopolis with the new Governor, and witnessed his installation. There I took my leave of the Commission, and returned to my place in Parliament. I am sorry to say that I am guilty of the production of two Blue-books, on the subject of Eastern Roumelia, containing together 1063 pages.

It is almost impossible—even were it necessary—to relate the whole history of this time. It ended in the formation of a Constitution which

now, unfortunately, only exists in print. Six years later, when I returned to Constantinople on Egyptian affairs, we were informed one morning that the Prince of Bulgaria had been kidnapped and deported, and that Eastern Roumelia was incorporated with that Principality under a new *régime* and a new Prince.

CHAPTER LV

**Lord Salisbury's views on Turkey—Eastern Roumelia—Russian aims
—Sketch of Constitution—Occupation of the Province—Politics in
the Near East.**

SIDE by side with my public correspondence, the bulk of which is contained in the Blue-books, I maintained an active private correspondence with Lord Salisbury, and received from him explanatory instructions of the most interesting character. I was much struck with the persistency of his letters, considering the vast amount of labour his position must have entailed upon him.

I am afraid that what follows may be considered somewhat disconnected ; but I have no ambition to make a succinct narrative, and am merely picking out of correspondence passages which may be of some interest.

On my arrival at Constantinople I heard much of the intentions of Russia, and reported to Lord Salisbury that she was supposed to wish to resist and evade the Commission, and especially to prevent the assumption by the Commission of the financial administration of the Province.

Lord Salisbury wrote that he was not much

impressed with the motives and intentions of the Russian Government and people. He seemed convinced that war would not result in any case. We had acted, as he once said, "for Turkey on principles of pure egotism, and have no right to claim the credit of a romantic friendship." It was natural that England should have seen vividly the inconveniences of fighting for Turkey, and that the inhabitants of Constantinople should have thought more of the Sultan's rights than of the British taxpayer's. The great political blunder of the Sultan himself and of his sympathisers and subjects was that they put too high a price upon themselves. They considered Turkey was so important that England would do and bear everything rather than let her existence be endangered. Turkey, no doubt, was very important and valuable to England, as long as she would accept England's counsel; but a refractory Turkey was not very much more valuable than Afghanistan to India.

There was no fear, Lord Salisbury thought, of our being unable to force the Russians to evacuate the Balkan Peninsula without war, if Austria were kept on the Turkish side; but the inconceivable folly manifested in Turkey made the outlook most gloomy.

Lord Salisbury agreed with me as to the importance of generous institutions for Eastern Roumelia, but qualified that observation by referring to the distinction between "civil" and

“political” liberty. That men should have public order, safety of life and property, pure justice, security against excessive taxation—these were things of vital importance. We could not save Turkey by compromising in the least degree the rights of the populations to have these; but it was not from these that the danger to the Sultan’s supremacy arose. It was from the “political” liberties—the liberty to agitate, plot, use a Parliamentary seat for treasonable purposes—the liberty, in short, to bring the Government to a deadlock, which would cause danger. To some extent these are inevitable incidents of popular institutions; and popular institutions were, in this case, essential in some degree to preserve civil liberties.

It was considered that the object I should keep in mind was so to adjust the amount of political liberty given that it should be ample to secure civil liberties, but not enough to bring the Government to a standstill and to put a Russian party into power. We should not rely too much on the contentment or gratitude of the people. “The second,” said Lord Salisbury, “is a chimera whose habitat is an after-dinner speech. The first only keeps the people quiet when they do not see anything better by stirring.” But there was plenty left for Bulgarians to desire, and therefore any institutions which relied for their stability on Bulgarian contentment would prove very ephemeral.

In Prince Tzeretclew, I heard, we should find a

foeman worthy of our steel. One of his late chiefs used always to call him "*mon petit diable*."

Lord Salisbury did not seem quite satisfied that I thoroughly understood the objects of the Russians. The Pera theory was that war was meant. That was always the Pera theory. The argument against it was that if they meant to make themselves safe against any return of Turkish dominion in the places they had occupied, their simplest course would have been to walk into Constantinople in January 1878. It seemed to Lord Salisbury a most reasonable theory that they were talking of resistance for two reasons: first, the chance that they would frighten us; second, a more substantial hope that it might excite the populations and enormously increase the difficulties of the Turks, and consequently ours.

Of course, my only hope of meeting these kinds of tactics would be to use firm language, to make no unreal nor unnecessary difficulties, and to go on "pegging away." The worst was that the Turkish Empire seemed to be getting water-logged. It would not steer. It would not sail. It would not sink. A man with the talent and the faith of Omar might put things to rights; but, unfortunately, talent and faith were not to be found together now in those latitudes. Nothing approaching to a policy guided the Turk. He made a show of following each Power in turn quite long enough to make all lose their temper with him.

I had sketched out a Constitution. This was

being printed, Lord Salisbury told me, for circulation in the Cabinet ; but matters did not press for an immediate criticism, and some time was to be taken to examine it. At first sight, it seemed to Lord Salisbury to have many good points. The only doubt that a first study gave to him was whether it was not too elaborate ; whether the delicate *rouage* would not stick somewhere or another ; but, in the presence of so much hostile criticism, he thought I might very possibly find it unavoidable to be logical.

The language held in the Russian Embassy in London was very much opposed to that of the Russian agent on the spot. It was uniformly "the Treaty, and nothing but the Treaty." Lord Beaconsfield's view was that the Russians meant peace, and Lord Salisbury was inclined to agree.

In another letter, Lord Salisbury informed me that he had read with great interest and care my projected Constitution, though, as events were moving so rapidly, he thought that by that time (17th October 1878) I might have forgotten all about it. He did not therefore enter into any minute criticism, but merely remarked that it seemed to him very ingenious, and would form the basis of a just and practical arrangement. The only weak point appeared to him to be in the very extensive reliance I placed upon the personal character of the Governor-General.

Lord Beaconsfield about that time spoke to Lord Salisbury about my work, in the progress

of which he was greatly interested, and said that he thought I was getting on exceedingly well. His only fear was that my institutions might be too liberal for the peculiar circumstances of the case. Lord Salisbury told him that he had had the same misgiving at first, but that it had been quite removed by the project that I had sent him. Certainly the Turks could not be open to the same criticism. Their proposal was to provide a constitutional check upon the Governor-General by the nomination of eight Pashas from Constantinople. The course adopted by Turkey at that moment, said Lord Salisbury, was too like the Bourbons to survive. They had got the fatal disease of nations—ossification of policy.

In 1879 a very important question had arisen as to the occupation of the Province after the introduction of the Organic Statute. Some were in favour of a mixed occupation by all the Powers. Austria was strongly for this; the Turks bitterly against it. The French and Germans threw cold water on the scheme, and the Italians would not give an opinion. The attitude of the Russians was curious. Count Schouvaloff in London apparently used exactly the same language as did General Stolipine at Philippopolis—that a mixed occupation was a thing they greatly disliked; but they felt it was the only feasible remedy for the certain outbreak of anarchy. We therefore committed ourselves as little as possible. The strong opposition of the Turks, it was thought, would make it a difficult

policy to persist in, if their objection lasted. If the dangers were really formidable, which this plan was designed to meet, the Turkish objection would be modified when they got nearer.

Count Schouvaloff, who was always very conciliatory, about the beginning of 1879 tendered his resignation. Prince Dondoukoff's hostility towards him was very manifest. About the same date, however, Lord Dufferin was sent as Ambassador to St. Petersburg, and this had a good effect.

Lord Salisbury's attitude was very firm, though his language was cautious and conciliatory. It was generally understood that he would not stir from the prescriptions of the Treaty of Berlin.

The Greeks suggested that Bulgaria should be replaced under the Greek Patriarchate. This, however, would have created an almost inextricable difficulty, as the Greeks were in a minority, and one great element of difficulty in the Province had been the rivalry between the two sections of the Greek Church. The Head of the Bulgarian portion was known as His Beatitude the Exarch. He was a man of great judgment and moderation. Like many of the orthodox hierarchy, he was brought up as a lawyer, the interpretation of ecclesiastical law being one of the principal duties of a Greek Archbishop. I recollect that, when I was in the Ionian Islands, there was a vacancy in the Archbishopric of Cephalonia for which a leading counsel of Corfu applied. He did not obtain the appointment for other reasons; but no one

objected on the ground that he had never before been in orders.

I had some very interesting conversations with different persons well acquainted with Russia and the Slavonic races altogether. One, in particular, did not think that Russia wanted to obtain possession of the Provinces, which would be too far—a second Poland. She would prefer to see them free, under her influence and domination. This, my informant believed, she was preparing rather than annexation.

M. de Kallay agreed with much of this, and acknowledged the disinclination of the Southern Slavs to any union except that founded on the supremacy of their respective provinces. Servia had reminiscences of Douchan, and Bulgaria of Simeon. Religious differences also had stepped in; for instance, both the Croats and the Servians proper wanted a Pan-Servia, but under different conditions. Ethnographically, the inhabitants of Servia proper, Montenegro, Croatia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina are all of the same race, and speak the same language. The Croats, as Roman Catholics, look to the Pan-Servian State, of which Agram is to be the capital, while the Servians look to a Servian State of the Orthodox Faith, with the capital at Belgrade. The Bulgarians, who speak a different language, look to a free Bulgaria, with its capital at Constantinople.

The Slavs fear Austria more than they do Russia. They think Austria would annex them,

while Russia would not do so, being at a distance. The object of Russia is, sooner or later, to obtain possession of Constantinople.

One of my informants believed that Russia would, at all events for the present, be satisfied with the establishment of a Bulgaria. It was on the road to Constantinople. Servia being more remote, Russia had lost sympathy with her.

I did not think the attachment of the Bulgarians to the Russians was of a permanent character, but was rather the result of recent favours. The Bulgarians were already annoyed at the annexation to Roumania of the Dobrudscha, which they considered a part of their territory. No doubt the majority of the population was Bulgarian. Besides this, the Slavs of the south were essentially democratic, and, though in correspondence with the Moscow Committee, they were also in alliance with the Garibaldian organisation in Europe.

Prince Dondoukoff, towards the end of 1878, passed through Philippopolis, when his language, owing to instructions from St. Petersburg, was very different from what it had been on his former visits. Preparations had been made for him, and a deputation, under the Bulgarian Archbishop, went to meet him. He rather snubbed them; refused to alight, and told them to give up agitation, as the Czar was resolved to carry out the Treaty of Berlin. General Stolipine tried to soften the language used to Prince Dondoukoff by the Emperor, which had been rather peremptory. He

accompanied the Prince as far as Tatar-Bazarjik, and said to the Italian consul that the Emperor had merely said he was to confine his proceedings within the bounds of legality.

As I wrote to Lord Salisbury, "In case there is an approach between Russia and England, we might be able to order things differently. At this moment, however, it would be difficult to come to a solution, and the different interests to be dealt with are so hostile, that the *imprévu* is all that we can at present look to."

We had to deal with a great many objections on the part of the Turks, who, in some respects, were more irritating and obstructive than the Russians. They had quarrelled with M. Aimable, a French advocate employed by the Porte, who had been sent up to assist us.

CHAPTER LVI

Return to England—Eastern Question—Portsmouth Election—Friends at Portsmouth—Lord Beaconsfield's defeat—Oratory in Parliament—Acquaintances in the House of Commons.

THE first person I saw on leaving the train at Charing Cross was Colonel Harcourt, brother of Sir William Harcourt, and member for Oxfordshire. It was my duty, of course, at once to see Lord Salisbury, and I also resumed my attendance at the House of Commons. I went to a great party at Hatfield, given by Lord and Lady Salisbury for the Prince and Princess of Wales, and stayed for some days. I was happy to find that there seemed to be no immediate prospect of anything untoward happening in the East.

At the House of Commons I found the general impression tallied with mine: that, while we were to support the integrity of Turkey, we must insist on her immediately initiating reforms. Unfortunately some statesmen and diplomatists looked upon the maintenance of Turkey in her then existing state as desirable and necessary, and did not consider the dangers that would arise if she persisted in her policy of indifference, and if she

did not endeavour to reform recognised abuses. Some of my own friends were annoyed at the details I gave of the state of Turkish finances.

A motion was brought forward by Sir Charles Dilke, to which Mr. Hanbury moved an amendment. This I seconded. While taking the part of Turkey, when it seemed necessary, my speech demonstrated, I think satisfactorily, that in matters of personal violence Bulgarians and others were to the full as guilty as Turkey herself. I did not conceal my impression that it was useless to assist Turkey financially, unless it were quite understood that drastic reforms were to be introduced. Financial assistance would only enable the Turks to prolong the existing mismanagement, and give substantial reasons for a war which must end in the dismemberment of the country. I venture to reproduce from Hansard some portions of the speech in question, which was well received on both sides of the House :—

For his own part—speaking with a strong sense of responsibility, and being desirous of maintaining the Turkish Empire—he felt convinced that that Empire could only be maintained by a complete system of decentralisation. The state of Constantinople was something perfectly appalling, and he scarcely liked to tell of all the instances of corruption that had come under his notice. The House would be able to judge from one or two instances. It was generally known that the import duties were to the amount of 8 per cent *ad valorem*. A friend of his had imported goods to the extent of £800, and wished to have the boxes opened at his own house and not at the Custom House. At the Custom House he declared their value, and offered £64, the duty of

8 per cent, together with a fee to cover the expenses of the Custom House officer. Nothing would induce the Custom House officer to accept the offer, and a broker at last tried his hand and obtained the boxes for £8, the £64 being taken as the basis of the duty. Of this £8, 8 per cent on £64 was paid to the Government, the rest being appropriated by the officers as backsheesh.

He was informed by a gentleman who had had access to the Papers relating to the Revenues of Turkey that, at the present time, only about £12,000,000 went into the Treasury Chest; while he was convinced that no less than £25,000,000 were paid by the taxpayers, and the country was thus reduced to poverty. Notwithstanding that, the informant said that the country did not require the services of any heaven-born financier in order to overcome the difficulties and to set things straight. If only the present arrangements were honestly worked, the revenue would rise to its proper amount. Every attempt had been made to patch up the finances of Turkey. An offer had been made by M. de Tocqueville, and had fallen to the ground; and again, a plan had been suggested by which the Ottoman Bank should relieve the wants of the country. These offers comprised a loan of the sum of £6,000,000, which was wanted for the disbandment of troops, the redemption of the *caimé*, and establishing a *gendarmérie*; but, if that proposal had been accepted, it would have been all but fatal, as it would have given Turkey the means of going on for another six months. Then there would be another crisis, with the old story over again. If Turkey wanted to live, she must look into the question as a whole, and institute reforms to last, not for six months, but for many years. That could only be done by decentralising. If the finances were mismanaged in the capital, how much more were they likely to be mismanaged in the Provinces where there was no check upon them, and whence an appeal could only be made to the mismanagement of the Metropolis. So why not allow the Provinces to govern themselves and pay for their own police? Why should they depend upon the police which were said to be sent down from Constantinople,

but which he knew, in many instances, were really not sent down at all?

As I said before, my speech was somewhat resented by the thick-and-thin partisans of Turkey. In Turkey itself, however, it exercised considerable influence at the time, and the Sultan issued a kind of private Commission to examine into the allegations I made. I believe that the report of the Commission tallied with my views, and I hope that the results have been satisfactory. The Sultan himself is always alive to the necessity of reforming abuses; but his great difficulty consists in finding trustworthy persons to carry out his views and orders. He really is overwearied with the task of governing a great Empire, almost unaided. In accordance with his desire, I wrote His Imperial Majesty a letter respectfully submitting my views. To show that he was not annoyed at the frank expression of my feelings, I may say that three months after my speech, on October 28, the Sultan wrote me a kind letter, signed by his own hand ["A. Hamid"], thanking me for the assurances I had given him of the interest felt by England for his country. His Majesty declared that he attached great importance to the friendship of the English people towards Turkey, and added the assurance that he felt the profoundest sympathy and most constant cordiality for the Queen and her subjects.

The shadow of dissolution was at that time hanging over the House. This, in fact, took

place early in 1880. Circumstances had occurred which prevented my returning to Christchurch for election. My absence in Eastern Roumelia had not entirely met with the favour of the constituents; and, indeed, as I have explained elsewhere, Christchurch was a difficult borough to represent, on account of its size, the variety of its interests, and the constant local calls on the time of its representative. I had had two special friends in Parliament—Sir James Elphinstone and Mr. Bruce—who represented Portsmouth together. Sir James Elphinstone was about to retire. He and Mr. Bruce—to whom, as to his wife, I was under many obligations both then and afterwards—recommended me to the constituency as Sir James' successor. I therefore took leave of Christchurch and went down to Portsmouth to address the Conservative Association, who accepted me as their candidate. It was agreed that we should have a series of meetings where I was to make the acquaintance of the constituents; but, unfortunately, it was not possible to carry out these arrangements. Just before the Easter holidays the Government found itself unpopular, respecting some business about London water, and decided that the House should dissolve as early as was convenient for the public service. The whole country was then thrown into the preliminaries of a General Election, and I consequently repaired to Portsmouth. Mr. and Mrs. Bruce had taken a house where they entertained

me during the election, my family being then in the South of France on account of health. I have already alluded to Sir Robert Peel's speech during the election. It was warmly contested; but Mr. Bruce and I were fortunate enough to be returned. The gentleman who presented himself at Christchurch as Conservative candidate was not elected, owing, I think, to blunders on the part of some of his supporters. The Member who took my place was Mr. Davey—afterwards Sir Horace, and later Lord Davey—a lawyer of enormous ability, with whom, for a long time, I maintained a warm friendship, and who has only recently died.

I found great assistance in standing for Portsmouth at the hands of my relative, Admiral Wodehouse, who lived at Southsea, and who, through life, had been an intimate friend of mine, as were his two sisters—one of whom is still living at Brighton—for whom I have always had a most affectionate regard. Admiral Wodehouse died a few years ago. Admiral Chads also helped me a great deal. I had known him very well in the Mediterranean, where he was in command of a line-of-battle ship. I recollect a curious circumstance with regard to him. In appearance he closely resembled the late Sir William Hoste, who was also in the Navy. There was one seaman on board Admiral Chads' ship who had served under Sir William Hoste, and had been kept by him under very strict discipline. Captain Chads was

not at Corfu when he was appointed to the command of his ship, and had to travel out to join her. On his arrival the seaman saw him, took him for Sir William Hoste, and deserted. After a most distinguished career, Sir Henry Chads became an Admiral of the Fleet, and settled with his sisters at Southsea, where he had a great deal of influence.

All constituencies, unfortunately, were not like Portsmouth in returning the Conservative candidate. It is said—and I believe the story to be true, though I cannot vouch for it—that Lord Beaconsfield went to stay at Hatfield during the elections. As these seemed to be going against the Government, one of Lord Salisbury's sons—I believe the present Lord Salisbury—said to Lord Beaconsfield, "It will turn out all right some day." To this Lord Beaconsfield replied, "It is all very well for you to consider this quite lightly ; but with me it is the end of my career."

One peculiarity that I observed in the House of Commons was the comparative unimportance of oratory compared to sound information. I heard many speakers whose authority was respected, and whose words were listened to, simply on account of their conversance with the subject under discussion, and not because they had any title to eloquence; I do not say this at all in reference to Lord Charles Beresford, for he spoke very well ; but I recollect one occasion when the House, on all sides, gave him their profoundest attention while he described the properties of a new

torpedo. Another time, a Member, who represented an important mining constituency, was listened to with, I may almost say, rapt attention while he explained the method of working in a mine. A Bill had been brought in forbidding a certain process of mining, and persons unacquainted with the subject considered the prohibition unnecessary, and almost frivolous. This gentleman, however, who told us that he had himself worked in a mine, showed us by certain movements of his arms that, unless the particular system was prohibited, cases might arise where miners would suffer serious injury.

One Member of Parliament, who held a somewhat insignificant Court appointment, and was really a man of extreme usefulness and influence, was the universally popular George Barrington. Later on, he succeeded to his father's title, and was created an English peer. It is, perhaps, not generally known that every day the Leader of the House of Commons submits to the Sovereign a summary of what has taken place in the House. As Mr. Disraeli sometimes found difficulty in writing, he delegated this task, with the consent of Queen Victoria, to Lord Barrington, who performed the duty excellently. Should his papers ever appear, they will be found to contain valuable historical annals of the House of Commons during the leadership of Mr. Disraeli.

Lord Barrington was the head of a family which unobtrusively enjoys universal sympathy. His

brother, Sir William Barrington, was in the Diplomatic Service. When I was at Madrid he was Secretary of Embassy there, and I had many opportunities of appreciating his judgment and ability. He was afterwards made Minister at Buenos Ayres, and thence transferred to Stockholm, from which he has recently retired. His brother, Sir Eric Barrington, was for a long time in the Foreign Office, where he earned the goodwill of everybody, acting first as private secretary to various Ministers, and later as Assistant Under-Secretary of State. In the case of both brothers it is generally considered unfortunate that they should have retired so soon from their spheres of usefulness.

Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen was a man of sardonic humour. Some of his writings in *The Owl* were most attractive; but he did not mind very much what he said to anybody. When I was first in the House, I had to go to a Speaker's Levée. As is well known, these are always attended in uniform. I was engaged to dine out that evening, and, as the Levée began at ten, I asked Mr. Hugessen what I had better do. He replied that, on these occasions, it was usual for Members to put on their uniform before dinner. I said that I had thought of that, but was afraid that some one would ask, "Who is that donkey sitting down there?" Mr. Hugessen replied, "My dear fellow, they would say that whether you were in uniform or not."

Mr. Raikes, at one time Member for Chester,

was a special friend of mine. He was a man of great Parliamentary knowledge and tact. When Lord Beaconsfield came into power in 1874, he offered Mr. Raikes a post for which he was very well suited—that of Chairman of Ways and Means and of Deputy Speaker. Under Lord Salisbury's Government he was subsequently made Postmaster-General, and introduced, I believe, many useful reforms. He died comparatively young.

Two other friends of mine were Lord Claud and Lord George Hamilton. I first knew Lord Claud when he was quite a young Member of Parliament, for he came down to assist me in one of my unfortunate electoral contests. He was Member for one of the divisions of Liverpool for many years, and I more than once accompanied him to his meetings there. I supported Lord George at a meeting when he was chosen to stand for Middlesex. He has since had a most distinguished career, but fell a victim to the arrangements consequent on the resignation of Lord Salisbury.

It has been impossible for me to enumerate all the Members of Parliament with whom I was on good terms—not to say on terms of friendship. But there was one with whom I had an especial affinity—Mr. Chamberlain—and I was closely associated with him from the time of his first entering Parliament. This friendship did not interfere with political antagonism. I shall never forget the look of amazement on the face of a new

Member who, after listening to a somewhat sharp passage of arms between Mr. Chamberlain and myself, found us in the tea-room immediately afterwards engaged in a somewhat intimate conversation and having tea together.

Mr. Chamberlain and his family came to Spain while I was there, and I think they accompanied me to Loyola, the birthplace of St. Ignatius. I used to see them whenever I came to England, and I possess many letters from Mr. Chamberlain of the kindest character. No one has been more pained than myself at his recent illness, and I have much regretted that, not being myself in the best of health, I have been unable to testify to the anxiety I really felt.

Amongst my other House of Commons acquaintances were Lord Eustace Cecil, Mr. Edward Stanhope—whose early death was a great loss to the country—and Mr. Reginald Yorke.

With this group of Parliamentary friends I may also include the names of Major-General Mackenzie, whom I had known since Corfu days, and Mrs. Mackenzie; also of Lord and Lady Wallscourt. I saw a great deal of all these friends.

CHAPTER LVII

Parliament of 1880—Bradlaugh episode—Sir Stafford Northcote—Bradlaugh Debate—Fourth Party—Mr. Balfour—Lord Randolph Churchill—Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions.

THE new Parliament opened on April 29, and proceeded to the election of a Speaker and the swearing-in of Members. On May 3, Mr. Bradlaugh, one of the Members for Northampton, claimed to be allowed to make an affirmation or declaration instead of taking the oath. This application was referred to a Select Committee, proposed by Lord Frederick Cavendish, who represented the Government, and seconded by Sir Stafford Northcote.

Sir Stafford Northcote, on this and on other occasions, incurred the censure of his Party for the manner in which he always deferred to the wishes of the Liberals. He had begun life as private secretary to Mr. Gladstone, and he never seemed to lose his awe for that statesman. Indeed, some one once remarked in an irreverent manner that he was like an old and trusty retriever, who could not resist coming to heel at the whistle of the poacher who had first broken him. The effusion

with which he came forward on the first possible occasion to support the proposals of the Government, in a matter likely to divide the opinions of the House and the country, did not augur well for his future opposition to the Liberal Party.

Questions arose as to the constitution of the Committee, of which notice was given on May 7. Meanwhile grave doubts had presented themselves to me as to whether Mr. Bradlaugh could take the oath, or whether he came within the exemptions that would enable him to make an affirmation.

On May 11, the Government proposed that a Select Committee should be appointed to enquire into the rights of Mr. Bradlaugh. I therefore moved what is called the Previous Question as an amendment to this proposal. This led to a long debate, and, when the division at last took place, I was overruled by a majority of 97. I had maintained that the right to affirm, given by Act of Parliament, did not include professed atheists; as to the oath itself, that an oath by an infidel had been decided by a court of law to have no value. I was greatly assisted in arriving at my opinion by Mr.—now Justice—Grantham, Mr.—now Sir John—Gorst, and by Sir George Russell, who, later on, was himself a Member of Parliament, but not in my time.

The Committee having declared that Mr. Bradlaugh was not entitled to affirm, that gentleman announced his intention of taking the oath, which he himself had declared that he looked upon as an

idle form. I was anxious to do everything in the most guarded manner, and therefore addressed a letter to the Speaker, which ran as follows :—

Private.

CARLTON CLUB,
May 18, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. SPEAKER—I think it right to inform you that if Mr. Bradlaugh presents himself to take the oath, I shall move that he is incapable of doing so.

If you think there is any chance of his attempting this on Thursday, I should be glad if you would give me a few minutes' interview beforehand.—Yours very truly,

H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

On May 19 I received the following letter from the Speaker :—

DEAR SIR HENRY WOLFF—In answer to your note I have to say I have no certain knowledge of Mr. Bradlaugh's intentions, but think it probable that he will present himself to take the oath to-morrow.

If you wish to see me upon the matter, I shall be at home this evening at 7, or to-morrow morning at 11, as you may prefer.—Yours truly,

H. BRAND.

Two days later, Mr. Bradlaugh came to the table to take and subscribe the oath, and the Clerk was proceeding to administer the same to him when I rose from my place and objected. The Speaker pointed out that if I had any objection to offer, that was the time to make it. I therefore said that I begged to oppose the administration of the oath to the honourable Member for Northampton. Thereupon the Speaker called upon Mr. Bradlaugh to withdraw for the present.

Mr. Dillwyn rose to order. The Speaker, though he considered my action to be unusual, stated that, after hearing what I had to say, he would decide whether my motion could properly be put.

I then repeated the history of Mr. Bradlaugh's asking to affirm, instead of taking the oath, and of how a Committee had been appointed to enquire into his rights. I remarked that it was only after that Committee had decided against his pretensions to affirm that Mr. Bradlaugh came forward to take the oath. In my opinion, I said, it was fortunate for Mr. Bradlaugh that the Committee had decided against him, for under the Act of 1866 any Member taking his seat with an affirmation, and not belonging to certain sects or denominations, was liable to penalties recoverable in the Court of Westminster, and his seat was to be declared vacant. This Act could not be set aside by a Committee or by the House. I pointed out that, by the Common Law of England, an atheist is not entitled to take an oath. I did not believe that the honourable Member would deny that he was an atheist. At the beginning of a pamphlet of his in my possession, entitled *A Plea for Atheism*, these words appeared under Mr. Bradlaugh's name: "It is as a propagandist of Atheism that I pen this essay." In support of my view I quoted the work of Mr. Pitt Taylor on *The Law of Evidence*. I finally moved my resolution that Mr. Bradlaugh ought not to be allowed to take the oath, in consequence of his having previously claimed to make

an affirmation or declaration instead of the oath prescribed by law. My motion was seconded by Mr. R. N. Fowler, one of the Members for the City, who, at one time, was Lord Mayor. Mr. Gladstone replied, moving an amendment in favour of Mr. Bradlaugh.

Mr. Gibson, who had been Irish Attorney-General, spoke in answer to Mr. Gladstone, and made one of the most eloquent speeches I ever heard. I venture to make an extract from it :—

Could they now, with full knowledge of all the circumstances, allow the honourable Member to take that oath which he had declared to have no binding effect upon his conscience? They had all the materials before them for an almost immediate decision. Let them suppose that the honourable Member, when presented with the Book, had said: "I regard this Book as one which contains no sanction binding on me. You call it the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; I do not regard Him as my Lord and Saviour. The first words of the Book are, 'The generation of Jesus Christ'; I do not believe in Jesus Christ. The last words in the Book are, 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.' I do not believe in that grace; I do not believe in that Jesus Christ."

Sir Henry James, Mr. Bright, and Lord Percy—now Duke of Northumberland—all took part in the debate, and it was adjourned till May 24, an occasion of much moment, for it was then that Lord Randolph Churchill made his first speech of great importance in the House of Commons. Although a Member since 1874, he had for some time been absent from Parliament, living in Ireland as Secretary to his father, the Lord Lieutenant,

and there he had made himself very popular with all parties. His speech on the occasion of the Bradlaugh debate was really remarkable, and I may perhaps here transcribe a few lines of it from Hansard :—

He hoped he should not be deemed presumptuous if he ventured to make an appeal to the right honourable gentleman at the head of Her Majesty's Government. He had a conviction that there was not any Member of the House who viewed Mr. Bradlaugh's opinions with greater horror and aversion than the First Lord of the Treasury. He would appeal to the right honourable gentleman to abandon the position he had somewhat lightly taken up, and not to seek to evade a great question by a transparent and obvious device. The right honourable gentleman had behind him a great majority, which in his hands might, no doubt, be the means of promoting the best and the highest interests of the country. "Do not," he would say to the right honourable gentleman, "let it be in our power to say that the first use you made of that powerful weapon was to mark it with an indelible stain, and that the first time you led the Liberal Party through the lobby in this new Parliament was for the purpose of placing on those benches opposite an avowed atheist and a professedly disloyal person."

The formation of the Fourth Party really dated from that speech. Mr. Gorst, Lord Randolph, and I sat together, and were subsequently joined by Mr. Balfour, whose object it was to cause Lord Salisbury's rights to the succession of Lord Beaconsfield to prevail over those of Sir Stafford Northcote.

Attempts have been made by supporters of Mr. Balfour to prove that he was not a member of the Fourth Party, though he sat with them. Unfortunately for this theory, there are a great many letters



CONSUL CHAPELAIN

in existence which place a different construction on his actions. Towards the end of 1880, an invitation was conveyed to him to sit as one of the Fourth Party for a cartoon in *Vanity Fair*. I wrote to ask him to make an appointment, and received the following reply :—

From your letter received this morning, I gather that Monday will do. By all means make an appointment for me at 12 on that day. I shall be haggard and ghastly of hue from the effects of a night journey; but that will be taken to be a consequence of the anxiety and labour which my Parliamentary efforts on behalf of my country have forced me to undergo, and of the pain which the behaviour of my colleagues has so often inflicted. I am afraid you have been at some trouble in the matter; but though I have no doubt you have used a great deal of strong language about *me*, I can assure you it cannot possibly be as strong as the language I have used about you, Bowles, and the Fourth Party generally. Even coming to town on Monday is a most — nuisance. However, I resign myself.—Yours ever, A. J. B.

P.S. —Is the Artist to come to 4 Carlton Gardens, or am I to go to him?

In a letter written to me at the end of 1880 Mr. Balfour said :—

You accuse me of two things— dining in —'s society and repudiating the Fourth Party. I deny both charges. . . . As to the Fourth Party, I did not repudiate it. I denied its existence, which is a very different thing. If there is a Fourth Party, and in so far as there is one, *I* am a member of it. But I do not and never will publicly admit that such a thing exists. We must always assert that the name is a joke and a device of the enemy to sow dissension in the Conservative Party. So shall we be able to preserve our independence, in spite of all the front benches in the world: though the Goat rages furiously and ex-Ministers of State

gather themselves together against us. What I never can get you to understand is that what we should aim at—for our own sakes and that of the Party at large—is the largest possible amount of real independence and the smallest possible appearance of it.

I hope the Government will not split up *yet*, either on the Irish or on any other question.

I hope from a party point of view that the crisis which you anticipate will not come till *after* Parliament has assembled, and that in no case it will be of such magnitude as to give W. E. G. an excuse for resigning and leaving us, or any new combination of parties, to get the country out of the mess into which he has plunged it:—I am all for playing the *rôle* of candid critic. When the evil is far beyond the reach of any practicable remedy, this is the only part which can be filled with credit.

The following letter was dated December 16, 1881, from Whittingehame:—

I shall be in London for a day or two between the 10-20 January, as I propose about that time to enlighten my constituents. I shall, however, return here after that, and stay until the meeting of Parliament. We must have a serious consultation on the affairs of the nation, which are as gloomy as the prospects of the Conservative Party.

Every allowance was made by Mr. Balfour's colleagues for the delicate position in which he stood with regard to our little group and in respect of Lord Salisbury. That allowance, however, did not extend to the flat repudiation given by his followers, in several papers, at a moment when he thought it convenient to divest himself of his past.

Not among the least remarkable features of the Session of 1880 was the great stride taken by Lord Randolph Churchill in the conduct of public affairs.

Having recently returned from Ireland, he had at his fingers' ends the details of the requirements of that country, and, for a Conservative, was not unwelcome to the Irish group. In fact, we sat in their immediate neighbourhood, on the Opposition benches below the gangway. From the very earliest period of his activity Lord Randolph's abilities were recognised by Mr. Gladstone. During the discussion on the Employers' Liability Bill our little group took an active, not to say prominent part, and it was observed that the Treasury Bench was never entirely deserted so long as any of us remained in our places. So much has been said of the formation and achievements of the Fourth Party by Mr. Winston Churchill in his delightful *Life* of his father, and by Mr. Harold Gorst in his work entirely devoted to the chronicles of the Fourth Party, that it would be useless to go very much into detail respecting a history already so well known.

Nor do I think it would be interesting to pursue the whole history of the Bradlaugh episode. The question of Mr. Bradlaugh's admission to his seat, in one form or another, was brought before the House thirty-eight times between 29th April 1880 and 26th June 1882, and was a subject of great anxiety to the Government of the day. If I recollect aright, Mr. Bradlaugh did not succeed in taking his seat during the whole of that Parliament. I cannot give any personal recollections of what took place in connection with the matter

afterwards, as in 1885, being away in Egypt on a special mission, I was not elected for Portsmouth. I believe that in the Parliament returned that year Mr. Bradlaugh did take his seat.

Mr. Bradlaugh was a man of undoubted ability, and had led rather an adventurous life. At one time he had been a private in the army, and, strangely enough, when he appeared at the bar of the House of Commons he always stood at attention like a soldier. In his writings and speeches he avowed himself, without reserve, a disbeliever in religion. In one of his publications he said :—

The Atheist does not say, "There is no God"; but he says, "I know not what you mean by God; I am without idea of God; the word 'God' is to me a sound conveying no clear or distinct affirmation."

One pamphlet published by him was entitled *Is there a God?* Another was called *The Atonement*, and in this Mr. Bradlaugh wrote : - -

For Jesus himself—can man believe in him? In his history contained in anonymous pamphlets uncorroborated by contemporary testimony?

The following passage occurred in an article of Mr. Bradlaugh's in 1875 :—

Christianity has been a corroding, an eating cancer, to empoison the whole life-blood of the world; the enemy of all progress; the foe of all science. What is Christianity? I give it you now in a word—It is the blasphemy against humanity; the mockery of humanity; it has crushed our efforts, has ruined our lives, has poisoned our hearts, and has cursed our hopes.

CHAPTER LVIII

Lord Beaconsfield—Difficulties of the Government—Correspondence with Mr. Gladstone regarding Arabi Pasha—Conference on Egypt—The Primrose League—Formation of Lord Salisbury's Government—Election at Woodstock—Disappearance of the Fourth Party.

As I have already observed with regard to the Fourth Party, it would be superfluous for me to enter into a detailed history of the Parliament of 1880 ; but I may perhaps give extracts from one or two letters that throw light on the events of the day. Some of these will show how the Fourth Party—as it was then called by every one except its actual members—received the approbation of the only two leaders of the Conservative Party to whom we were disposed to defer.

Confidential: quite.

HUGHENDEN MANOR,
July 12, 1880.

MY DEAR SIR DRUMMOND—Much obliged for your letter ; can't write to me too often, but never expect answers.

Glad to say I am particularly well ; better than I have been for years ; for I have got rid of my asthma.

I hope, and think, I am well informed as to the situation.

I approve of the light cavalry, and all they have done ; but I must say I cannot agree with you that there has been

any absence of intelligence or enterprise on the part of the *Patres Conscripti*.

Any suspicion, however unfounded, of our having an understanding with the Home Rulers would sever from our ranks some of our most respectable friends, who gradually would be joined by others. Nothing more injurious to a party than this provisional and guarded support from any section of our own friends.

Then again, the Whigs are, for the first time, really alarmed since 1834; but they wish to have the credit of leading parliamentary opinion, and not merely of swelling a successful Tory opposition. They will resent, as they have done before, any treatment by us which would imply the necessity of our protection.

I doubt whether there is any combination, even if we were free to make it, which would prevent the Bill passing the Commons, though we shall of course divide on the Third Reading there.

The more Chamberlain and Mundella exert themselves, the more inclined will the Whigs be to shrink from such a tainted connection. Bradlaugh, also, seems to be exerting himself!

Prudence is as much required at this moment as enterprise. You may help the development, but you must not precipitate it.

I speak to you with half a century of experience in these matters, and I speak to you thus frankly because I have confidence in your abilities and conduct.—Yours sincerely,

BEACONSFIELD.

Confidential.

HUGHENDEN MANOR.

November 4, 1880.

DEAR DRUMMOND—I mark this letter “confidential,” and I mean what I mark. I don’t want it to be shown to political gossips and newspaper hacks. You may show it to Randolph, if you like. I am glad he is going to speak about Ireland. He will speak on such a subject not only with ability, but authority.

With regard to the Congress of Berlin, that is a subject which you are very competent to treat. Few men more so.

But you will allow me to say that the great result, as well as one of the main objects, of the Congress of Berlin is never touched upon. As the Plenipotentiary, who negotiated the Treaty, it was, and is, impossible for me to proclaim it, for we have never been at war with Russia, though we had to negotiate as if we virtually had been. That was the peculiarity of the Congress, making the position of the English plenipotentiaries different from our envoys at the Congress of Vienna ; for example, where we had to settle our book with a great, avowed and conquered foe.

Next to making a tolerable settlement for the Porte, our great object was to break up, and permanently prevent, the alliance of the three Empires, and I maintain there never was a great diplomatic result more completely effected. Of course, it does not appear on the protocols ; it was realised by personal influence alone, both with Andrassy and Bismark.

I can't write more, as it is only since the day before yesterday that I, as they used to say in Grub Street, "resumed my pen." I have been a prisoner for nearly a month with the sharpest attack of gout I have ever encountered, and am not yet on my legs. However, it has cured everything else, so I need not complain. . . .

Of course you may use what I have told you about the Congress of Berlin ; that you understand. I shall always be glad to hear from you.—Yours sincerely,

BEACONSFIELD.

P.S.—Schouvaloff, who spoke more truth than the world gave him credit for, when we signed the Treaty, said to me, "Well, we have done with the Eastern Question for the next five and twenty years."

Another gouty P.S.—It is not the *Congress* of Berlin that is producing all this confusion, it is the *Conference* of Berlin.

This was the last letter I ever received from Lord Beaconsfield ; he died in the following spring.

Outside Parliament, the Fourth Party were much occupied in attending public meetings. At

the beginning of 1882 Lord Salisbury wrote to me as follows :—

Stumping is a refined luxury of which I only allow myself a strictly limited quantity. The enjoyment is too ecstatic. Moreover, in these days public speaking is like dancing on a tight-rope—an exercise which palls on you. I am afraid, therefore, that the fact that I am bespoken some way ahead is conclusive against my accepting your flattering invitation. I have got Liverpool and Stratford in the immediate prospect, Southwark later on in the summer, and some Scotch places in the autumn. Moreover, I have given a kind of promise to Pembroke and Nelson which would take me to Salisbury if I went into your country at all. So it is no use fighting against fate !

There were a great many difficulties against which the Liberal Government had to contend. The war in Afghanistan added much to their embarrassments, and there were other troubles in the East. The state of Ireland caused the gravest anxiety, and the Chief Secretary, Mr. Forster, resigned. Profound dissensions were said to have arisen in the Cabinet itself. Egypt and Tunis were questions of paramount importance. The insurrection of Arabi Pasha attracted a great deal of attention in England, and I was so much afraid that we might take rigorous measures—a course that would have had a bad effect, not only in the East, but also on persons less closely connected with Egyptian affairs than ourselves—that I ventured to write a letter to Mr. Gladstone, of which the following is a copy :—

The interest I take in the East will plead my excuse, I hope, for addressing you in a private manner on a public

matter. My object in doing so is to urge upon the Government, to the best of my power, the necessity of protecting Arabi Pasha and his fellow-prisoners from capital punishment.

The vote of last night described the movement suppressed by British troops as a "military rebellion." If this description be correct, I would submit to you that we should not be justified in allowing the lives of rebels captured by us to be sacrificed. I fully admit that the paramount importance of Egypt to this country warrants our intervention there to an extent perhaps not justifiable elsewhere. But intervention in any foreign country, on behalf of a sovereign or government, against revolted subjects is certainly contrary to the spirit and practice of modern British policy. The commanders of our ships of war are, I believe, instructed to give asylum to all political refugees, and, to all intents and purposes, Arabi Pasha is nothing more than a political offender. Had the Khedive suppressed the insurrection without our assistance, the commander of any of Her Majesty's vessels would have allowed Arabi to take refuge under the British flag.

If, in the revolutionary period, Russia had delivered over Kossuth to Austria, or if Austria had delivered Garibaldi to the Sovereigns of Italy for trial and execution, the whole feeling of this country would have been shocked and revolted by such an act. I do not wish to draw comparisons between those two leaders and Arabi, except for my present purpose; but, with that view, the analogy, I think, holds good.

It may be urged that Arabi and his associates have been guilty of crimes other than those of a political nature. Be it so. But the same accusations would equally have been levelled against Garibaldi and Kossuth. To my knowledge, when trials were being conducted against Hungarians and Italians by the Austrian Government, accusations of a degrading description almost inevitably accompanied the political prosecution. Insurrections necessarily entail acts of violence. For these the leaders are legally responsible. But I do not think that under this plea we should be justified in leaving the prisoners to be dealt with by Eastern

law or Eastern Ministers, some of them perhaps interested in the disappearance of the accused.

I have ventured to bring these views before you in a private rather than a public manner as being more likely, perhaps, to enlist your sympathy. They could not be brought forward in the House of Commons except on a forced motion of adjournment—an inconvenient and unpopular proceeding, and one open to misapprehension. If on any occasion in public I may comment on the subject, I shall do so without reference to this letter, which on my side is private.

It appears to me that we have now the chance, from the standpoint of Egypt, of allaying for years the vexed questions which have so long made the East a field of disturbance; and it is because I think the harsh treatment of Arabi and his associates would be on our part a monumental error, that I have taken the liberty of addressing you at this length.

On October 28, 1882, I received the following reply from Mr. Gladstone:—

I thank you both for the tone and the matter of your letter. I think myself safe in saying that, if the case of Arabi prove to be like those of Kossuth or Garibaldi, his head is as safe on his shoulders as yours or mine. It has been from the first our desire, and we have taken steps for giving effect to the desire, that no man should on this occasion lose his life merely for having shared in the rebellion. But there are matters of great gravity with which Arabi stands in more or less presumable connection. Our business is to see, as well as we can, that the presumption is tested by proof. It will be the question of crime or no crime which I believe will decide his fate; and, as in duty bound, I shall be glad if the result is “no crime.”

My reply was as follows:—

Allow me to thank you for your letter. The considerations it raises are too numerous for me to venture to intrude

them on your vast occupations. If Arabi, however, and his associates are condemned to death, whatever their offences, I fear that the tribunal which judges them, and the part we take in the proceedings, will evoke very painful comments from those who do not wish us well.

Lord Dufferin, Lord Northbrook, and others were sent on various Missions to Egypt, and a conference on the affairs of that country was called in London. The Turkish representative was Hassan Fehmi Pasha. Very few days after the first meeting, I was informed by Count Nigra, the Italian Ambassador, that it would be a complete fiasco, and this proved to be the case.

The Suez Canal was naturally one of the chief points of consideration. Lord Salisbury told me that he very much dreaded a neutralisation of the Canal, because in case of trouble in India it would be rather serious to be forced to send our soldiers round the Cape. "The evil of this," he wrote, "will be specially apparent some years hence when the Askabad Railway has been pushed on to Herat. It will have a bad effect on the imagination of malcontent Indians to know that England is so far, and Russia is so near. The question of admitting the other powers to the control may possibly be forced on our Government. But they will find it practically impossible to manage Egypt with a council of six—all quarrelling."

After Lord Beaconsfield's funeral, in 1881, we founded the Primrose League, with the details of which I was closely concerned, having been

familiar, for some time past, with organisations of that description. In several benefit societies, such as the Foresters, Oddfellows, and Druids, I had observed the great importance attached to quaint titles and appellations. Our organisation of the League was one cause of offence to Sir Stafford Northcote; but towards the end of 1884, owing to the influence of Lord Salisbury, he came to sympathise rather more with our little party.

It was only in that year that matters seemed to be sufficiently ripe for us to invite the co-operation of the two leaders in promoting the prospects of the Conservative Party. The Primrose League had by that time become very popular, especially owing to the exertions of the late Lady Glenesk, who, with the greatest dexterity and tact, had founded a Ladies' Branch of the Order. Of this branch, the late Duchess of Marlborough was the first President, in which capacity she displayed the highest ability. Miss Meresia Nevill took a very active part as Honorary Secretary, and has ever since worked indefatigably for the promotion of the Primrose League, which has now reached such great dimensions. Miss Nevill has recently been assisted by Miss Kate Hastings. Lord Salisbury was always rather amused at the appellations affixed to the different offices, and this, perhaps, inspired the following letter, addressed to me on November 14, 1884, when we offered him and Sir Stafford Northcote the highest possible offices in the League.

Northcote and I agree that there is no objection to our becoming Patrons of the Primrose League if it should be thought desirable. But I suppose we shall have no such commonplace name. What do you say to Vavasours?

The time was now approaching when the Conservative Party, of all ranks and sections, had to muster their forces and develop their powers. It was thought necessary that dissensions should, as far as possible, be avoided. The history of these transactions is contained in the two works to which allusion has already been made, *Lord Randolph Churchill* and *The Fourth Party*, and the result of the reconciliation was seen in the majority against Mr. Gladstone's Government, and the formation of a Conservative administration under Lord Salisbury.

The distribution of offices, no doubt, gave rise to some painful feeling. Sir Stafford Northcote, it is said, up to the last moment expected to be sent for by the Sovereign. When Lord Salisbury had been summoned, he sent one of his sons to announce the fact to Sir Stafford Northcote, who was quite taken by surprise. The story goes that he could not conceal his disappointment and left the room. Lord Salisbury did all in his power to soften the blow. I was at a small dinner given by the Duchess of Marlborough while the different arrangements were being made. These were delayed, owing to an idea that Lord Salisbury would decline office, and force Mr. Gladstone back into power. Our dinner was interrupted by a

visit from Lady Salisbury to the Duchess. Her object was to endeavour to modify the determination of Lord Randolph not to take office so long as Sir Stafford Northcote was Leader of the House of Commons. It was finally settled that Lord Salisbury was to be Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary; Sir Stafford Northcote, with the appellation of First Lord of the Treasury, to be put into the House of Lords; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach to be Leader of the House of Commons. Lord Randolph Churchill became Secretary of State for India; Sir John Gorst, Solicitor-General, and Mr. Balfour, President of the Local Government Board. As for myself, I was sent on a Special Mission to Constantinople, with the rank of Privy Councillor, and thus the so-called Fourth Party was disposed of. Lord Randolph tried to insist that Mr. Balfour, who held an office that might or might not be in the Cabinet, should hold the latter rank; but Lord Salisbury, not wishing to appear over-favourable to his own relatives, thought that such promotion might, for the moment, be postponed.

Though it was not my lot just then to undergo a new election, I went to Woodstock to represent Lord Randolph Churchill during that period. The election was much stimulated by the activity of the candidate's wife and sister, Lady Randolph Churchill and Lady Georgiana Curzon, who were constantly driving about the borough—a very extensive one—in a little tandem belonging to

Lady Georgiana. After the election, when the matter was being discussed by some of the farmers in the neighbourhood, one of them observed, "It was the tandem as did it."

Thus ended the Liberal Government of 1880, and thus disappeared our small body, that had insensibly been formed to oppose it. Poor Lord Randolph died not very many years afterwards. With him it was always a presentiment that he would not live beyond the age of forty-five.

CHAPTER LIX

Special Mission to Egypt—Eastern affairs—Visit to the King of the Belgians—Journey to Constantinople—Audience of the Sultan—Turkish plenipotentiaries—Objects of Mission—Difficulties—Authority of native officers—Incident in Persia—Revolution in Eastern Roumelia—Change of administration in Turkey—Situation in Egypt.

ON the 3rd of August 1885, I was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Sultan of Turkey, on a Special Mission with particular reference to the affairs of Egypt. Shortly afterwards I left England with Mr. Cartwright, my former secretary, and Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley, who had been appointed military attaché. My other attaché was Mr. Charles Bruce, son of my colleague, the Member for Portsmouth; and subsequently Mr. Walpole joined me in Egypt as private secretary.

Before my departure I had taken pains to consult those who would be able to give me valuable advice. Count Corti, who was then in London, urged me to visit Constantinople in the first instance, and Count Münster, the German Ambassador, gave me the same advice, but was opposed to my going to Paris or Berlin. I had a long

conversation with the late M. Musurus, Turkish Ambassador, who also recommended my visiting Constantinople. When I remarked that it was the desire of the Government to keep well with Turkey, he answered, "*Pas de phrases, mon cher ! Pas de phrases !*" M. Musurus went on to say that the only solution possible was a joint occupation of Egypt by British and Turkish troops, and a joint organisation of the army and of civil administration. A period should be fixed, at the expiration of which Egypt should be evacuated by both nations. He was opposed to any Turkish element in the Egyptian Army. The Egyptians, under Ismail, had held their own against the Soudanese, and he did not see why they should not do so again, if properly officered. M. Musurus did not seem to attach much importance to the individuality of the Khedive, whom he looked upon as a machine.

One night, at dinner, I sat next M. Waddington. Our conversation was practically a monologue on his part, as I scarcely answered. He remarked that, though France was supposed to prefer a Liberal English Ministry to a Conservative one, he had always got on better with the latter, and he considered—to use his own phrase—that the good relations of England and France had reached their apogee under Lord Beaconsfield's Government, when Lord Salisbury was Foreign Minister. As to Egypt, he volunteered his advice apologetically. He expressed his surprise that we had not made

more use of the Mudir of Dongola, who had shown great ability and fidelity. M. Waddington thought that, with a force recruited in Turkey, but without pashas, for the defence of Egypt, and with a small annual subsidy to the Mudir, who should exercise rights as a kind of vassal, a buffer state might be formed between Egypt Proper and the Soudan. He strongly advised me to go to Paris and see M. Freycinet, who was very well affected. M. Barrère made himself too much the organ of the French colony in Egypt, which he considered a bad thing. He also expressed doubt as to any arrangement being easily effected about the Press. He more than once urged the employment of the Mudir of Dongola and the recruiting in Turkey as being an arrangement agreeable to France, who would be opposed to a Turkish occupation, which, however, would be approved by Prince Bismarck, or, as he called him, "the Chancellor." If we left Egypt, we might take it for granted that France would go there at once. "Whatever you do," concluded M. Waddington, "limit the Turkish element to the smallest dimensions possible." He did not think that a small Turkish garrison would be an insuperable objection.

I had a conversation with Count Karolyi, who urged me to go to Vienna and see Count Kalnoky. He was also much in favour of my going to Constantinople, but advised me—as had Count Münster—to visit neither Paris nor Berlin.

I said I hoped I should have the support of the Austrian Agent, recollecting how valuable it had been on a former occasion. Count Karolyi was very civil in his reply, but laid down, and insisted further, that nothing could be settled before the General Election, unless it were internationalisation. He assured me that his Government were most anxious to support Her Majesty's Ministers; but he did not believe that any but preparatory steps could be taken before the country had decided. He was most anxious, however, that I should see Count Kalnoky, and that the feeling of Turkey and the Sultan should be conciliated.

M. Nigra, the Italian Ambassador, was excessively kind, and assured me of the desire of his Government to forward British policy in Egypt by all the means in their power. Their agent should be instructed to support me. M. de Staal spoke with geniality and great civility. The Turkish Ambassador, whom I again saw later, detained me for a long time. He wished a Convention to be made with the Sultan, stipulating for a joint occupation of Egypt by England and Turkey until a good native Government could be created, when both countries should evacuate the territory. An understanding could then be come to with the Soudanese by direct negotiations between Turkey and the authorities existing in the Soudan. I urged that France would object to the introduction of Turkish troops into Egypt. He replied that Turkey was the supreme head of the country, and,

if once we concluded a Convention with the Sultan and communicated with the Powers, France would not dispute the rights of Turkey, unless she were supported by the other Governments. Count Karolyi promised me a favourable reception by Count Kalnoky, and Count Münster undertook to write to the German Ambassador at Constantinople to give me all the assistance possible.

On arriving at Brussels, I found an invitation from the King of the Belgians, who was at Ostend, for myself and my staff to breakfast with him. On the day of our departure we therefore went to Ostend, where I had the honour of an interview. His Majesty was much interested in Egypt, the more so as he had only recently concerned himself in the affairs of the Congo. The same afternoon we left for Cologne, where we slept, arriving the next day at Vienna. Here I stopped, and saw my old friend M. de Kallay, Count Kalnoky being absent. M. de Kallay, speaking of the Prince of Bulgaria, said that he was *un très brave homme*, but that there was considerable agitation against him. On my way down the Danube I observed much emigration amongst the Turks.

Shortly after my arrival at Constantinople I had the honour of an audience with the Sultan, when I read to His Imperial Majesty a gracious message in French from Queen Victoria. It was afterwards read to the Sultan in Turkish by Assim Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs. His Majesty was most gracious in his language towards myself,

saying that he was pleased to see me again, and was glad that I had been entrusted with this Mission. He reciprocated the good feelings expressed by the Queen and Empress, and expressed his conviction that Her Majesty fully recognised his rights as Sovereign of Egypt.

Nothing could have been more satisfactory than the reception accorded to me, and I believe that the rapidity with which I was granted an audience showed a desire on the Sultan's part to give careful attention to the proposals I had to make. The next day I had a private audience of His Majesty, lasting nearly three hours. All seemed to be going smoothly. On September 4, I met the two plenipotentiaries, Assim Pasha and Kiamil Pasha, who had been appointed to treat with me. Assim Pasha I knew well, as he had been my colleague on the Eastern Roumelian Commission. Kiamil Pasha came, I think, from Cyprus, and was Minister of the Evkaf or Church lands. He spoke English thoroughly well, having been brought up by Mr. Ayrton, a gentleman employed either by Mohammed Ali, or Ibrahim Pasha, to educate young Egyptians in European forms. Mr. Ayrton had organised quite a school of officials. He was, I believe, a brother of the First Commissioner of Public Works under Mr. Gladstone's Government.

The object of my Mission—though to a certain extent connected with those I had previously fulfilled—was much more complicated. As regards

other countries, Egypt presented, as was once said by Lord Rosebery, an international chaos. The Sultan had a double claim on the loyalty of the Egyptians as Sultan and Caliph. Egypt proper was perforated by foreign nationalities, divided into what were called colonies, having in some respects independent jurisdictions on their co-nationalists. Each was under a foreign Consul-General. The finances were also international, and administered by a body of foreigners, chosen by the different Governments, and known as the Commissioners of the Caisse. The late Khedive, Ismail, had a number of supporters in Egypt; others were in favour of the existing Khedive, while a third party was in favour of yet another pretender, Prince Halim.

From news received at Therapia, I was more than ever convinced that it was necessary to conciliate the Arab interest. It would be impossible to create an army for Egypt that could hold the country. Finances would never stand it. Therefore all we could do was to obtain a hold on Egypt by moral force, and that through the Arab sheikhs, who had enormous influence at Yildiz. The Sultan's one idea was to keep the Caliphate. With that influence, we should not only hold our own in Egypt, but also consolidate our position in India and all countries where we had to deal with Mussulmans. One of Nubar's great difficulties was that he could not conciliate the Arabs. Sheikhs would not go to any one: the principal Turks used to

visit them, and kiss their hands. It was plain that there was a lot of chauvinism in Egypt itself, and in our own colony amongst both civil and military officials.

One very difficult question we had to decide was the maintenance of order in Egypt after our withdrawal. The Sultan wished troops to be sent; but to this there was great objection. In fact, some Frenchmen had been preaching that England wished to restore the rule of the Mamelukes. The Sultan did not desire a separate Egyptian army. Indeed, it would have been difficult to make one without foreign officers. Eastern feeling is very curious. While Orientals bend to authority, they assert absolute equality amongst each other, and therefore it is almost impossible to inculcate discipline under native officers, who do not like to assume authority, while the men do not recognise that authority if assumed. In Persia I met with a curious instance of this. At Gulahek, the country-house of the Legation, there was stationed an escort of about forty men in two large tents. A captain and two lieutenants were in charge. On one occasion we heard a great noise going on amongst them, and I sent out an Englishman, who spoke Persian thoroughly well, to ascertain the cause of the riot. It turned out that the men were beating the officers, whom they accused of not giving them their pay. I sent word that these disturbances could not be allowed. A short time afterwards some of my secretaries visited the tents,

and found the three officers and the men playing cards and drinking tea together.

At all times in Egypt it had been necessary to have the army officered by foreigners, generally by Turks. The Sultan, however, was afraid that the history of Mohammed Ali would be repeated. That ruler had introduced a large number of Turks into the Egyptian Army, and with this he had threatened the throne of the Sultan. He thought, therefore, it would not do to send Ottoman troops into Egypt commanded by Englishmen or the allies of Englishmen. The Arab party, too, protested against Turks being sent to Egypt—a policy that had produced great friction in the past.

While studying the whole Egyptian question at Constantinople, and discussing matters with the Commissioners appointed to negotiate with me, an incident occurred that was quite dramatic in character. It was towards the end of September, and the heads of the various Missions had been invited to see the ceremony of the *Kourban Bairam*. All the members of my Mission were asked. We were steaming down the Bosphorus, having got up at five o'clock for the purpose, when a launch from the Palace, with an *aide-de-camp* on board, stopped each *mouche*, or steam launch, on its way, and communicated a circular to the effect that the reception would not take place, as recent events in Eastern Roumelia necessitated the meeting of an Extraordinary Council. The news

in question—that of what was known as the Roumelian Revolution—had reached me the day before through the Italian Embassy, which had received it from Rome.

On the 18th of September, Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, at Tirnova, accepted the offer of the title of Ruler of Southern Bulgaria, made to him by a deputation from Eastern Roumelia. This effected the union of the two portions of that country, and brought to an end the separate constitution which I had contributed to form in 1878-9. The Russians were pleased at this event, for it carried out their policy. They had for a long time been working for the Union in combination with the ultra-democratic party in Bulgaria. At first the Russians had supported reforms projected by the Prince; but subsequently they turned round, joined the advanced party, and maintained the constitution drawn up under the auspices of Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff in 1878-9, which gave an extended suffrage, and was of a most advanced type. Shortly afterwards a great change took place in Eastern Roumelia. The Russians resisted the re-appointment of Aleko Pasha as Governor-General on the expiration of his term of office, and the new Governor was the late Secretary-General, Gabril Christovitch, commonly known as Gabril Pasha, who was generally considered superannuated. He at once dismissed all Aleko Pasha's functionaries, and thus created a band of bitter opponents. Aleko had opposed the Russians on

more than one occasion. His adherents, therefore, in order to get rid of Gabril Pasha, determined to precipitate the union. He was himself absent on leave at Constantinople, and during his absence the affair was elaborated. The anti-Gabrilists sent the Prince a deputation telling him that everything was ripe for union, and that, if he would head the movement, he should be maintained ; if not, they would send him away. This is, perhaps, a broad way of putting their communications, but I believe it is substantially correct.

Events in Bulgaria brought about a change of administration at Constantinople, and Kiamil Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier. Said Pasha, who was Ambassador at Berlin, had been sent for to take the place of Minister of Foreign Affairs. Meanwhile it was intended to appoint Aarifi and Server Pashas to take the place of the former Commissioners. It ended, however, in Kiamil Pasha undertaking the office with Aarifi Pasha.

I may here say that I had received a very kindly welcome on the part of all the Ambassadors representing the different Powers. I was greatly assisted in particular by M. de Radowitz, the German Ambassador—subsequently my colleague at Madrid—and by the Austrian, French, and Italian Ambassadors. M. de Radowitz showed himself particularly interested, and was most useful owing to the information and the suggestions that he gave me.

Amongst the many difficult problems to solve were the various pretensions, both political and financial, of the different Governments. France, no doubt, had some well-founded claims. It was she who had made the Suez Canal, and her subjects were owners of a large portion of the Egyptian funds. Again, though we had occupied Egypt for the benefit of Europe, yet it had been done against the will of Turkey, who had never recognised our occupation. In England itself some were in favour of our remaining in Egypt; others wished us to withdraw at once, and looked upon our permanent stay there with great dislike and suspicion. We had, however, purchased a large share in the Suez Canal. Egypt was on the road to India, and we could not afford to relinquish such a hold on the country as would guard our interests. Altogether, the number of questions involved in the Egyptian settlement were innumerable. Great statesmen had been sent out to decide them—amongst others Lord Dufferin and Lord Northbrook. Mr. Goschen, too, both publicly and privately, was closely connected with the financial complications.

The mission of Hassan Fehmi to London had been the first movement on the part of Turkey to come to terms with England. This had failed, and the principal object of my mission to Constantinople was to obtain an understanding between Turkey and England alone. As circumstances turned out, the previsions of all parties were

falsified. I had been charged to endeavour to obtain a state of things by which England, after a defined occupation, should be enabled to withdraw from Egypt, having certain rights of re-entry in case of necessity, so as to preserve order in the country for the benefit of all the world.

CHAPTER LX

Convention with Turkey—Provisions—Importance of Article VI.—Farewell audience of the Sultan—Order of the Shefakat—Arrival in Egypt—Interviews with Nubar Pasha and the Khedive—Character of Khedive Tewfik—Origin of title—Foreign representatives at Cairo—Visits to sheikhs—Other acquaintances.

At length, after much suspense, on October 24, 1885, a Convention was signed relative to Egyptian affairs.

Strange to say, this Convention is the only official document now existing which regulates our relations with Egypt. The First Article lays down that “Her Britannic Majesty and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan will respectively send a High Commissioner to Egypt.” The Second Article refers to the Soudan; the Third to the Army; the Fourth to Egyptian administration; and the Fifth to the international engagements contracted by the Khedive. But the whole effect of the Convention is contained in the Sixth Article. This runs as follows :—

So soon as the two High Commissioners shall have established that the security of the frontiers and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government are assured, they shall present a report to their respective

Governments, who will consult as to the conclusion of a Convention regulating the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt in a convenient period.

This Convention had the advantage of being approved by all the Powers—even by Russia, who in those days was generally hostile to us. A final Convention, such as that proposed in the Sixth Article, was later negotiated with the Turkish Government; but, though an Iradé was issued, signed by the Sultan, authorising the conclusion of the Convention, for reasons that will appear, the Sultan refused to ratify it. Therefore, while the Sultan for the first time recognised the occupation of Egypt by British troops, he refused to avail himself of the provisions by which he might have obtained their withdrawal at a convenient period. He is precluded from negotiating any other Convention, and, by refusing to ratify one which he had expressly authorised, our troops are still in Egypt. At the same time, Great Britain has scrupulously carried out every undertaking she gave with regard to Egypt. The withdrawal has never taken place, and England is still instrumental in preserving the security of the frontiers and in ensuring the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government.

The first effort I made in negotiation was to obtain a distinct understanding with Turkey recognising the *status quo*, including our occupation, until a more satisfactory settlement could be carried out. Everything ultimately ended in our favour.

The Turks, wishing to please too many, sacrificed their own interests. While we were endeavouring, loyally and constantly, to produce such a state of things as would enable us to withdraw with honour from the country, the vacillation and inconsistency of the Turkish Government absolutely threw Egypt into our hands, and we are now masters of the country entirely owing to the action of the Sultan himself.

Prince Bismarck had made a speech, shadowing forth, as a possible solution, that England should become the leaseholder of Turkey in Egypt. That is the position we now occupy, with this limitation—that the lease is not terminable, and that we administer the country with an authority duly recognised by the Porte, and actually recognised by the whole world.

When taking my leave of the Sultan, on the 26th of October 1885, the day of my departure for Cairo, His Imperial Majesty expressed his pleasure at the conclusion of the Convention, and repeated the assurances he had previously given of his desire to co-operate cordially with Her Majesty's Government for the restoration of good order in Egypt and the pacification of the Soudan. These tasks he permanently handed over to Her Majesty's Government by his refusal to carry out Article VI. of the Convention, which, if properly executed, would have limited our stay in Egypt. His Majesty asked me to obtain permission from Lord Salisbury to communicate directly with himself,

and a method was arranged whereby replies could be forwarded to me. At the same time the Sultan sent my wife the Broad Ribbon of the Shefakat, an Order conferred by him on the wives of the Heads of Missions.

On one occasion application was made to a Secretary of State for permission for the wife of one Ambassador to receive the First Class of the Order, and for his daughters to be allowed the Second Class. The answer was that leave would be given for the Shefakat, but could not be granted for the Shefakittens.

When I returned to Constantinople subsequently, at a dinner given by the Austrian Ambassador, I was told to take down a very bright lady, a Russian, the wife of a diplomatist of another country, who had just received the Order. She asked me what was the meaning of "Shefakat." I replied that it meant "Mercy." The lady said she was glad to hear that, for she had understood the meaning of the word to be "Virtue," and she could not make out how it was possible to confer an Order for Virtue of the Second Class.

I went straight from my interview with the Sultan to the *Imogene*, a small steamer kept for the use of the Embassy. She took me to Besika Bay, where I embarked in the *Iris*, commanded by Captain Rice.

On October 29, I arrived at Alexandria, the *Iris* having made a rapid passage of forty-six hours from Besika Bay. I was met by Mr. Egerton—

now Sir Edwin Egerton, Ambassador at Rome—who was then in charge of the Agency, in the absence of Sir Evelyn Baring. He had been good enough to come up on purpose from Cairo, and was accompanied by Mr. Cookson, Nubar Pasha, Tonino Pasha, who had been sent by the Khedive to meet me, and many others. Both at Alexandria and at Cairo everything was done by the British and Egyptian authorities to give me a friendly reception. Large crowds appeared in the streets of Alexandria and saluted me with great courtesy.

During my journey to Cairo I showed the Convention to Nubar Pasha. With that document His Excellency expressed himself much pleased. He considered it was the title-deed of our occupation, and that it would enable us to settle all questions with Turkey alone, instead of with what was in Egypt called “internationalism.” He thought that much depended on the choice of the Turkish Commissioner. The absence of any distinct provision for recruitment in Turkey was not, in his opinion, detrimental. I again had impressed upon me strongly that the Arabs dreaded the very name of Turk. Nubar Pasha considered that a special provision for introducing Turkish troops into Egypt might have caused the greatest alarm.

On November 1, I had a private interview with the Khedive. I read the Convention to His Highness, explaining my views on its provisions, article by article. I pointed out that, in every one of them, His Highness’ rights and prestige had been

most carefully guarded, and expressed my conviction that a clear understanding with the Turkish Commissioner would also have beneficial results. The Khedive expressed his gratitude to England for what had been done, and also his great loyalty and devotion to the Sultan. I suggested his going some day to Constantinople to make the acquaintance of His Imperial Majesty. He replied that he proposed to do this on the first opportunity, and also hoped to make a journey to England, having long been anxious to pay his respects to Her Majesty the Queen.

The next day I had an official audience of the Khedive, at which I delivered to him a letter from Lord Salisbury. I also read an address, to which I received a most friendly reply. Subsequently, His Highness did me the honour of paying me a visit. As I accompanied him to his carriage, he took the opportunity of expressing his gratitude for the support he invariably received from Great Britain.

It was not easy to deal with the Khedive. He was a mixture of shrewdness and *naïveté*, of ambition and inconsistency. Every Minister in turn experienced the vicissitudes of his favour. He had no perseverance nor continuity. Nothing serious, therefore, ever resulted from his actions.

It may not be uninteresting to explain the origin of the title of Khedive. Ismail Pasha had created great alarm by a journey through Europe, nominally to invite the various Sovereigns to the opening of the Suez Canal. In reality he aspired to great

things. He wished to have no restriction on his power to issue foreign loans, or to purchase arms and ironclads. In 1867 the Sultan, to a certain extent, met his wishes, and conferred upon him and his successors various rights, amongst others the title of Khedive. Ismail wished to be called "Aziz," the name given in the Koran to Joseph, whose powers are described as follows in the forty-first chapter of Genesis:—

Thou shalt be over my house, and according unto thy word shall all my people be ruled: only in the throne will I be greater than thou.

And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, See, I have set thee over all the land of Egypt.

And Pharaoh took off his ring from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand, and arrayed him in vestures of fine linen, and put a gold chain about his neck;

And he made him to ride in the second chariot which he had; and they cried before him, Bow the knee: and he made him ruler over all the land of Egypt.

And Pharaoh said unto Joseph, I am Pharaoh, and without thee shall no man lift up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt.

There were objections, however, to conferring upon Ismail this dignity. "Aziz" is one of the ninety-nine special appellations or attributes of God. It was also the name of Sultan Abdul-Aziz.

The designation of Khedive or "Khedev" was the one selected, and the title "Khedivet" given to the Viceroyalty with hereditary succession. The meaning of "Khedive" is "minor sovereign," and the word comes from the Persian. When the title was conferred on Ismail, a promise was given that

it should not be granted to any other governor of a province.

Soon after my arrival in Cairo, I made the acquaintance of the different Agents or their representatives, as some of the actual holders of the office were absent, amongst them M. Camille Barrère, who had been ill. Count Corti, who had passed some time with him at Carlsbad, assured me that his language regarding England was most conciliatory. Monsieur Barrère has since been French Ambassador at Rome.

I showed the Convention to the German Acting Agent, telling him that it had received the support of his Government and of the German Ambassador at Constantinople. The actual Agent was absent from Cairo. M. de Martino, the Italian Agent, called upon me, and offered me his assistance under instructions from his Government. He had been in Egypt for a long time, and had previously occupied a similar post in Morocco. I also had an interview with the Governor of Cairo, who expressed to me his admiration of the conduct of our troops in that city.

When trying to master the situation I found--as always exist in the East--many currents and counter-currents. Personal interests were often raised to the level of national requirements, and these interests were very much to the fore. Every class of public man considered himself entitled to a share of the spoil, and it was supposed that the continued intervention of England in the affairs of Egypt would make the spoil very valuable.

At the suggestion of Nubar Pasha, I called personally on two very interesting people, who had previously been to see me. One was named the Sheikh-el-Sedaat, and was much respected by the Mussulmans as a descendant of the Prophet. He expressed his pleasure at any arrangement which might place Great Britain in harmony with the religious feeling of the populations, and was therefore glad of the appointment of a Turkish Commissioner. I asked if there were any points on which he would like to speak to me. The Sheikh replied that there were two. First, he said that great dissatisfaction had been caused by the displacement of Egyptian officials, and the substitution in their stead of Europeans. Many natives had consequently been reduced to great distress. Secondly, he complained of the constitution of the new tribunals. A claim for even a few piastres, he said, had to be submitted to foreign procedure, which was expensive and totally discordant with the social and religious ideas of the people. The Sheikh spoke favourably of the conduct of the British troops, and said he thought the populace had also behaved very well towards them.

I afterwards called on the Sheikh-ul-Islam, but did not find him in. He therefore came to me, and remained more than an hour. I learnt from him that the Egyptians would not be dissatisfied at any arrangement that might be made, provided their religion was not touched. He laid stress on this point, and spoke with feeling and

intelligence. He seemed much pleased with the views of Lord Salisbury, as expressed in a recent speech. The Sheikh thought that the arrival of the Turkish Commissioner would give great satisfaction in the country, and reciprocated the wishes I expressed for a complete understanding between Christian and Mussulman races. He spoke of the smaller tribunals in the same way as the Sheikh-el-Sedaat had done. I begged him to furnish the Ottoman High Commissioner and myself with all the information in his power, and expressed a hope that, if it were possible, he would advise the people of the Soudan, in their own interests, not to force further hostilities upon us. We were quite prepared for them, and should resist them, as we had done before ; but we disliked spilling any more Mussulman blood, and hoped they would not force us to do so. This gentleman was the principal Sheikh of El Azhar and Grand Mufti. The Azhar is the great Mussulman University at Cairo. I was unable to visit it as it was undergoing extensive repairs, and the pupils were dispersed in other institutions.

I also saw the partners of an Arab house domiciled in Manchester, with branches in the Soudan. From these gentlemen I obtained a considerable amount of information. Meanwhile I had asked my military attaché, Lieutenant Stuart-Wortley, to visit Assouan, and, under instructions from General Grenfell, to keep me informed of anything he thought necessary. From him, and on all sides,

I found that the Egyptians felt the greatest dislike for the introduction of Turkish troops into their country. Some of the principal British officers of the Egyptian Army told me that a great change of feeling had recently taken place among the soldiery. Instead of shrinking from service at the front, numerous volunteers had been found anxious to fill the places of those who returned to Cairo for sickness or any other cause. When drafts were starting for the front, and the wives came to take leave of them, the latter were now reproached by the soldiery for lamentations which used formerly to be welcomed, and even encouraged.

I received much assistance and the most valuable information from many quarters ; but no one gave me better advice than Mr. Moberly Bell, the *Times* correspondent. A letter I received from him called my attention to some statements, made in a newspaper called the *Bosphore Egyptien*, asserting that the British troops at Wady Halfa were falling back, and making other allegations of a nature detrimental to our position on the frontier. Mr. Moberly Bell went on to say :—

The attitude of the natives to-day towards the Mahdi is just what it was towards Arabi after we had given him notoriety. They care nothing for him. They ridicule his pretensions. But they are beginning to believe that he is strong.

I also received valuable advice and information from General Valentine Baker.

CHAPTER LXI

Moukhtar Pasha—Arrival in Egypt—His love of proverbs—Scientific attainments—Household—Address to the Khedive—Views on Mahdism—Sir Frederick Stephenson—Soudanese song—Resignation of Lord Salisbury's Government—Lord Rosebery—Affairs in the Soudan—Discussions with the Khedive and Moukhtar Pasha—Stay at Alexandria—Royal visits—Description of the Sultan—Ex-Khedive Ismail.

ON the 28th of December 1885, the Turkish High Commissioner arrived at Cairo. His full title was Dewletloo Ahmed Moukhtar Pasha el-Ghâzi. The Arab press greeted his appointment in a most flattering manner, and one daily journal, *El Zamân*, wrote as follows :—

When the information reached Egypt, all were pleased, both natives and foreigners, because of Moukhtar Pasha Ghâzi's reputation. He is highly upright, wise, and self-composed; is a man of few words, who listens much. If spoken to, he gives a short but clear reply. He also is a man of learning. . . . His Excellency is energetic, and can be severe, if need be.

Moukhtar Pasha's appointment had a good effect, and greatly facilitated our labours.

I requested Mr. Cartwright and Major Macdonald to meet the Turkish High Commissioner at Alexandria. Major Macdonald was then tem-

porarily Military Attaché; he is now Ambassador in Japan.

His Excellency was met by Nubar Pasha, and by Zulficar Pasha on the part of the Khedive. He was also received by a guard of honour of the Royal Fusiliers, by General Lennox and other British generals, by the Egyptian Ministers and by several Sheikhs.

From the station at Cairo, where I met Moukhtar Pasha, I drove with Mr. Egerton to the Ismailia Palace, which had been assigned as residence to the Ghâzi, and had a few minutes' conversation with him. He conveyed to me a message from the Sultan, and announced that he would call and deliver to me a letter from the Grand Vizier. On this visit he stayed with me a long time, and we touched upon the principal topics likely to engage our attention. I told him of the confidence felt by the British Government in Nubar Pasha, and intimated that any step taken against him would be most unfortunate. The Ghâzi expressed in the strongest terms his wish to act cordially with me. In the course of conversation I happened to allude to the fact that I had always heard of him as "*le pacificateur du Yemen*," which pleased him, and he replied, "*Je suis pacificateur partout*." He begged me to defer discussion for some days until he had been able to study the situation, quoting the Arab proverb, "The man newly arrived is blind."

Moukhtar Pasha was full of proverbs. One

that I remember was, "Do a good deed and throw it in the sea. A fish will eat it, but God will know it." Another was, "With patience, a mulberry leaf becomes velvet, and unripe fruit a sugar-plum." He was also fond of anecdotes, especially of Omar. On one occasion Omar was sitting with a general discussing plans for the next day's battle. He was thirsty, and, seeing that the slave in charge of the fountain was asleep, rose and took a cup of water. The general said, "Why did you do that? It is not for you to give yourself water. You should have waked the slave." Omar replied, "I rose and I was Omar. I returned, and I am Omar."

Another time, Omar was at the top of a mountain, conversing with an acquaintance. The latter claimed that he was wiser than Omar, who said, "I can prove that you are not." The man asked how. Omar replied, "Bend down, and I will whisper it to you." The man bent down. "That is the proof," said Omar. "Why should I ask you to bend down while I whispered to you, when we are alone on the top of a mountain?"

Moukhtar Pasha afterwards gave me what I believe to be a very interesting book on Astronomy and Mathematics, written by himself when he was tutor to Prince Izzedin, son of the Sultan Abdul-Aziz. It was a dissertation on the early Oriental systems, and on the principles whereby mathematical instruments were constructed. I sent a copy to Professor Jowett, then Vice-

Chancellor of Oxford, wishing if possible to obtain the opinion of some English mathematician on the subject. The Professor answered, however, that this was impossible, for those at Oxford who knew Turkish did not know mathematics, and none of the mathematicians knew any Turkish.

I also endeavoured to obtain Moukhtar Pasha's admission as a Fellow of the Royal Society; but, as the number of foreigners admitted to that honour is limited, this was, unfortunately, also impossible.

The Turkish High Commissioner did not seem to think his stay likely to be of short duration, for he brought with him his wife, his mother-in-law, his son and daughter-in-law, and his harem of twenty-four slaves. The Vice-Queen had charged her Chamberlain with the task of providing for this household.

Moukhtar Pasha's address to the Khedive at his first audience created a great sensation. Some passages were very remarkable and were singled out by the Egyptian public for comment. The Egyptians are a subtle and acute people, and at the least word their imaginations can be set at work. The first paragraph of the address was as follows :—

I take pride in communicating the peace-greeting of our exalted liege, the High Caliph of the Moslems, sent to your high Khedivial Person, with the glad tidings to your Highness that his royal affections towards your exalted personage are of a perfect kind.

One passage that attracted particular attention was as follows :—

I especially tender to your high and exalted Personage and to the learned Law Doctors (Ulemas), the natives, and notables, my hearty thanks for what I have met with from them.

I have succeeded and prospered, with God's favour, in all the missions entrusted to me by His Majesty the exalted Caliph, and have earned His Highness' approval in view of my success and achievements.

Moukhtar Pasha's wife was the daughter of an Ulema family, and this fact attracted to him the sympathies of that influential class. Throughout the address the Ghâzi appealed to the religious feelings of the people, and this was, no doubt, done with the intention of obtaining an ascendancy over the Egyptians. In consequence of this speech, views of personal aggrandisement were attributed to Moukhtar Pasha, and it was thought that he intended to remain permanently in Egypt and overshadow the powers of the Khedive himself.

Early in 1886, Moukhtar Pasha called upon me and said that he was now prepared to discuss business. The battle of Ginnis had taken place a week before, and a check had been given to the Mahdists. With regard to the Soudan, Moukhtar Pasha said he had taken great pains to inform himself. He had had considerable experience of Mahdis in the Yemen, and had cut off the heads of several, which had at once destroyed their growing influence. Mahdism in the Soudan, however, had

attained such dimensions as not to be dealt with so easily, and he considered that the religious feelings of the Soudanese were so great that it would be hopeless to expect them to be appeased, as long as they had only Christian troops or negotiators to deal with. The very presence of Christians added to their fanaticism. Their hope was to drive us out of Egypt. Though many of the inhabitants were peaceably disposed, the antagonism of the tribes to persons not of their religion rendered it impossible for the peaceable to contend with the warlike. He therefore considered that an Egyptian force should advance alone in the Soudan, unaccompanied by any British troops. He had not quite made up his mind whether it would be wise to begin with negotiating or otherwise, but he wished to discuss matters with the Khedive himself.

On the 20th of January, Sir Frederick Stephenson returned to Cairo from the front, and I had the pleasure of putting on record the satisfaction felt by all classes at the success which had crowned his recent military services. During his long and laborious residence at Cairo he had won the respect and esteem, not only of those belonging to his own profession, but of the whole population. His high character and conciliatory temper had enabled him to overcome difficulties which, without his personal qualities, might have proved insurmountable.

It may not be uninteresting here to give a free translation of a song, said to have been composed

by a young Soudanese woman, which was very popular at that time among the Dervishes.

Gordon, the son of the accursed, escaped and fled from the foe.
Despite the war-songs of his wife, he left her to mourn him alone.

Our guide to the True Faith is well. Mahdi, the expected, will come.

Be steadfast and firm in your ranks. An invincible army has come.

Await ye the Mahdi in faith, nor fear that the infidel's wiles
Can stop the invincible march.

Then began a series of meetings between the Khedive, Moukhtar Pasha, and myself. Though matters progressed slowly, there seemed to be some hope of a satisfactory conclusion.

After our first formal meeting Lord Salisbury's Government resigned. As Nubar Pasha remarked, the fate of the Egyptian fellaheen had been decided by the vote of the Irish peasant. Unfortunately I then lost my seat at Portsmouth, principally owing to my absence.

On Lord Salisbury's retirement, Lord Rosebery was appointed Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and I cannot but put on record my grateful acknowledgment for the consideration with which he treated me during his term of office. I had been sent out on a special mission, not special only as relating to the objects it had in view, but special as connecting me closely with Lord Salisbury's Government. From the first, however, though having no claim upon Lord Rosebery of any kind, I received from him the greatest

confidence and most loyal support, and he assisted me with all the means in his power in carrying out the objects of my office.

In March 1886, it was decided that all British troops south of Assouan should be withdrawn to that place; that an Egyptian force should be stationed at Wady Halfa, and that certain battalions should be brought back to England. Under Article II. of the Convention, Yousouff Pasha Choukdi was appointed Turkish delegate to enquire into the affairs of the Egyptian Army, and in May he proceeded to the Soudan, whence he forwarded constant reports on the state of affairs in that country.

The discussions between the Khedive, the Turkish High Commissioner, and myself were lengthy. The details we had to consider were so numerous and so complicated that it is unnecessary to describe them fully here. They referred principally to the pacification of the Soudan, the financial condition of Egypt, the constitution of the Egyptian Army, and the measures necessary for maintaining the peace of the country. Much of our time was also spent in examining claims on the part of the late Khedive and his family to a large sum of money.

After the withdrawal of the British troops, it became manifest that Article VI. of the first Convention that the security of the frontiers and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government were to be assured — had been

judiciously worded, and that the absence of any time limit for this purpose had been absolutely essential. Everything in the East goes slowly. Considering the complications of the Egyptian Question, delays were more than usually inevitable. Not only had the two High Commissioners, together with the Khedive, to draw up proposals; but these had to be submitted to the Governments of Great Britain and Turkey, sifted by all the Departments concerned in Egypt, referred to and criticised by the different Powers represented in that country.

On the 17th of July, I went to Alexandria, where the Khedive had arrived for his usual summer residence. Two of his sons had been visiting England, and the Khedive expressed his gratitude at the manner in which they had been received by the Queen and by the authorities in London.

I was lent a commodious house at Ramleh by a leading Greek merchant, M. Antoniadès, who subsequently received the K.C.M.G. His daughter was married to M. Musurus, son of the then Ottoman Ambassador in London, and who himself occupied that post until his recent death.

In August, His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh arrived at Alexandria. He had recently been appointed to the command of the Mediterranean Squadron, in succession to Lord John Hay. Prince George came with him. His Royal Highness' presence, with the Squadron under his com-

mand, produced a very good effect. Their reception was most cordial and, in the highest degree, satisfactory. Notwithstanding the adverse advice of certain papers, the inhabitants of Alexandria of all nationalities exhibited the greatest eagerness to do honour to Their Royal Highnesses. The Khedive in every way showed his anxiety to pay his respects, and to make their stay in Egypt agreeable to them. From a political point of view the visit was most salutary, and the impression left by the Duke of Edinburgh and his nephew smoothed away many asperities, and induced a kindlier feeling towards the English nation. The representatives of all the Powers came to Alexandria, to be present at an entertainment given for the occasion by the Khedive ; and for a ball that took place in my house those representatives, without exception, prepared lists of the members of their respective colonies for whom they desired invitations.

The following month the Duke and Duchess of Connaught passed by Port Said, and I went with General Stephenson to pay my respects to Their Royal Highnesses.

During my stay at Alexandria, I heard some very interesting details from a well-informed person relative to the Sultan. "He is indefatigable at work," I was told, "and knows everything. His nervousness prevents his sleeping ; and it is extraordinary, considering his work and his sleeplessness, that he has not broken down. Whenever he expects a telegram of importance he desires it may

be given him, at whatever hour it arrives, and the people of the Palace say that on such occasions he is always found dressed in his study. His *entourage* work on his nervousness for their own advantage. Whenever he is bound to appear in public, they write him letters of warning. He therefore arrives before or after the time announced — generally before. He is very rich and generous to those about him. He has confidence in the troops of the Constantinople garrison, as they are well fed and regularly paid."

From an Arab gentleman, who had been exiled to Constantinople and had constant access to the Palace, I heard about the ex-Khedive at court. To obtain the support of the Sultan for his claims, he had made large promises to several high functionaries. No moderate compromise could make Ismail Pasha desist from his pretensions. Both he and Prince Halim were spending great sums to keep up parties in their favour, so as to secure for themselves the succession to the then existing Khedive, who, they thought, was certain to fall.

CHAPTER LXII

Conservative Government — Return to London — Discussions on Egyptian Question Scheme accepted by Government—Lord Randolph Churchill resigns—Consequences for Egypt—Journey to Constantinople—Reception by the Sultan—Candidates for Khedivate —Visits to officials —Views of Musurus Pasha—Ulterior Convention—Date of evacuation and right of re-entry—Convention accepted by the Sultan—Signature by the plenipotentiaries —The Sultan's refusal to ratify Convention—Departure from Constantinople—Regrets at leaving—European society on the Levant Letter from the Khedive.

DURING the summer of 1886, Mr. Gladstone's Government had been defeated on the Home Rule Bill, and the Conservative Party returned to power, with Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister and Lord Iddesleigh as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Lord Randolph Churchill was made Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons, thus justifying the predictions of the occult scientist narrated in a former chapter.

On November 12, I telegraphed to Lord Iddesleigh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, asking if I might come to England in order to discuss the Ulterior Convention with himself and Lord Salisbury. To this he assented, and I arrived in London shortly before the end of that month. The late

Mr. Henry Calcraft had been staying with me at Cairo, and came home with me. We landed at Brindisi, and thence went on to Bologna, where we met Lord Falmouth, a great friend of Lord Randolph Churchill's. I arrived in London shortly before the end of the month.

I had many questions to discuss—trade with the Soudan, military expenditure, the claims of the ex-Khedive, allowances to the Khedivial family, and the negotiations for the Ulterior Convention. Nubar Pasha had been in London before I arrived. I saw many people who were powerful factors in the Egyptian Question. Dining with Lord Salisbury, I met M. Waddington, Rustem Pasha, Counts Hatzfeldt and Corti, and I spent my time interviewing politicians of every side with a view to obtaining from them some solution of the many difficulties. I received the greatest assistance from Sir Thomas Sanderson, Sir Julian Pauncefote, and the present Lord Welby.

The plan I proposed was a method of maintaining financial control by means of guarantees to be given by Great Britain. In exchange for these, we were to have some voice in the administration of the country. The whole scheme, carefully elaborated on these bases, had been practically accepted by the Government and by some leaders of the Opposition, when an untoward incident occurred which upset all our calculations. Towards the end of December, Lord Randolph Churchill resigned his post as Chancellor of the Exchequer

and Leader of the House. The whole incident and its consequences are fully dealt with by Mr. Winston Churchill, in his remarkable *Life* of his father. Matters were still further complicated by the sudden death of Lord Iddesleigh.

I shall never forget the astonishment with which I heard of Lord Randolph's determination. From the time of my return to London, I had lived with him almost exclusively. We had luncheon and dinner together every day. On Saturday we were having luncheon, as usual, at the Carlton, and he told me he was going to Windsor after he had visited both the Admiralty and the War Office with regard to the Estimates. For the following Monday we had been invited by Sir Charles Du Cane to have luncheon with him at the Custom House. On leaving, we went on foot to the Mincing Lane Station to go westward, and, as we were walking up and down the platform, I said to Lord Randolph in a commonplace way, "Does the Chancellor of the Exchequer have luncheon at the Custom House and visit the establishment privately, or in an official capacity?" Taking me by the coat, he drew me close to him and said, "Between ourselves, I do not know at this moment whether I am Chancellor of the Exchequer or not." I was almost breathless at the announcement, and naturally asked for an explanation. He replied: "You know I told you, when we parted on Saturday, that I was going to look at the Estimates. I find it impossible to agree with them, and I have

written to Lord Salisbury saying that, rather than do so, I will withdraw from the Government."

I think that means might have been found to remedy the situation; but Lord Randolph was very determined, and I fancy that influences were brought to bear to irritate Lord Salisbury against him. After some delay, however, and the hurried return of Lord Hartington from the Continent, Mr. Goschen was offered the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer. This rendered impossible any arrangement concerning Egypt by which England could give any financial assistance. Mr. Goschen had been the original author of Egyptian loans, which were brought out by his firm, known as Frühling and Goschen. On one occasion in the House of Commons, when Mr. Labouchere was calling these loans in question, Mr. Goschen declared that he knew nothing of several points under discussion. Mr. Labouchere replied, "Then who carried out these details? It cannot have been all Frühling."

Thus ended one chapter of the Egyptian Question. I think that the solution proposed might have been successful, though not exactly in the same form as that so ably carried out by the perseverance and resource of Lord Cromer. My proposed scheme, however, would have been possible had it not been for the blindness of Turkish statesmen to the real interests of their country, and, as will be seen hereafter, their refusal to ratify engagements they had deliberately adopted.

I started from London under instructions for Constantinople. On January 20, 1887, I was at Vienna, and left the next day for Trieste, as I found there was quarantine at Constantinople on arrivals from Varna.

My first visit was to Said Pasha, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and I delivered to him a note asking for an audience of the Sultan. I informed him that I had arrived with the purpose of negotiating an Ulterior Convention acceptable to the other Powers, and which might regulate the whole Egyptian Question. I heard that the Sultan was anxious to settle the matter as soon as possible, and that delegates would shortly be appointed to confirm the Convention.

I called on the Ambassadors and the French charge d'affaires, M. Imbert. I did not find the Russian Ambassador at home; but the Austrian Ambassador, Baron Calice, and the German Ambassador, M. de Radowitz, were warm in their assurances of assistance, and desired that the negotiations should terminate favourably. M. Imbert was also very friendly, as was Baron Galvagna, the Italian Minister. I informed these gentlemen that I had no mission beyond Egyptian affairs, and avoided entering into any discussion respecting those of Bulgaria, though these were more than once referred to by most of them.

Kiamil Pasha, the Grand Vizier, called to inform me of the date of my reception by the Sultan. His Highness himself and Said Pasha were ap-

pointed to confer with me. The first question always was, When should we leave Egypt? I invariably replied that Egypt must be secured against external aggression and internal disorders, and that means must be devised to protect the country against ambitious designs, not only from Africa but from Europe. I also mentioned several points on which remedies were urgently required. I was always met with the desire of the Turkish authorities to make Ottoman law predominate in Egypt, and to reduce the country to the state of a Turkish vilayet.

The Sultan was most gracious and cordial in his reception. He reminded me of the long time that I had had the honour of being known to him, and received with evident pleasure the expression of the good wishes of the Queen, which I had been instructed to convey to His Majesty. He asked me to telegraph his reply to England. The Sultan stated that he had selected Kiamil and Said Pashas as delegates, not only because they were able statesmen, but because they stood high in His Majesty's confidence and affection. He also expressed his belief that Sir William White would do his best to effect a solution of the Bulgarian complication.

The Sultan informed me that his great wish with regard to Egypt was the maintenance of his sovereign rights; while for Great Britain he desired the security of her access to her Eastern possessions. He also wished to see a state of things established

that should guard Egypt against foreign invasion. Strangely enough, His Majesty made some enquiries regarding the condition of Irish affairs, to which he had evidently paid considerable attention.

I found, to my astonishment, that more than one name had been put forward for the post of Khedive. One was that of the ex-Khedive Ismail ; another was Prince Halim, a member of the Egyptian reigning family who lived at Constantinople, and a third was Khedive Tewfik himself. In my opinion the ex-Khedive was impossible ; while the existing Khedive seemed to me the man most fitted for the post, although the Turks declared that he had created suspicion by using absolutely different language to the British, the French, and the Turkish authorities. Ismail Pasha had been very properly set aside. He was cruel, while his extortions and extravagances had ruined the finances of the country. Of Prince Halim I personally knew little ; but he had no knowledge of administration and had long been absent from Egypt. The British Government supported the Khedive Tewfik, and the question of the three candidates was soon laid aside.

After I had seen the Sultan and the two delegates, I spent my time in calling on the different secondary Ministers, who were Members of the Council, and consequently would have a voice in the preparation of the Masbata. All showed an earnest desire to come to terms with England on the subject of Egypt, although they had not yet

received from the Grand Vizier the details of the proposed scheme. One Minister alone raised an objection to what was almost the principal stipulation in the draft—that of the return of the British troops in case of disorder ; but even with him the objection was not very strong.

Although I had understood that it was not usual to call on the Sheikh-ul-Islam, I thought it advisable to pay my respects to His Highness. I was rewarded for doing so by the most cordial reception. The Sheikh wished me every success in my mission, and said that it was absolutely necessary for the two Governments to come to terms about Egypt. His Highness' experience had been a long one ; for he had reached the age of eighty. He had worked years before with Sir Stratford Canning, and was anxious to work with England still. It was essential, he thought, that England and Turkey should be friends and allies, as the former had Mussulman subjects as well as Turkey, and the two had a common enemy in the north equally hostile to both. His Highness repeated this more than once, and was most earnest in his assurances of help and his good wishes for the success of the negotiations.

As the Sheikh-ul-Islam was a Member of the Council, and therefore necessarily of some weight, I was glad that I had broken through a rule and had visited His Highness.

At a ball given by Lady White, I met Musurus Pasha, who told me that he was very anxious to

speak to me. He had been in England; but I did not think from what he said that he had been much taken into confidence, though he knew some of the details of my proposals. He informed me that, as in England he had been the representative of Turkish interests, so at Constantinople he was the advocate of British interests, and that his frequent visits to the Palace and his knowledge of public men should always be devoted to our cause.

Musurus Pasha very much combated the idea of the English troops returning to Egypt; he thought this would never be allowed by France or by Russia. I replied that I was convinced that those Powers would not object to such a provision, if it were properly explained to them. At first he said that if France and Russia agreed, Turkey would consent; but he subsequently changed his opinion and declared that Turkey would never accept such a condition. She would even prefer our remaining in Egypt—thus yielding to force—rather than accept by treaty a provision of this nature. The results of our negotiations proved the correctness of this view. I learned afterwards from M. de Nelidoff, the Russian Ambassador, that his Government preferred a transitory state of things in Egypt to a recognition by treaty of the special rights of Great Britain.

I received the greatest support from the Austrian and the German Ambassadors. The latter was particularly active and rendered me great service.

The principal point at issue in the draft of

Convention was the duration of the occupation of Egypt by Her Majesty's Government. It was stipulated that this should terminate at the expiration of three years from the date of the Convention. If there should then be any appearance of danger, internal or external, which necessitated the adjournment of the evacuation, the British troops were to withdraw from Egypt immediately after the disappearance of this danger, and, two years after such evacuation, the provisions for the occupation should completely cease to have effect. On the withdrawal of the British troops, Egypt was to enjoy the advantages of the principles of territorial immunity (*sûreté territoriale*). This expression proved more acceptable to the Sultan than "neutralisation." On the ratification of the Convention, the Great Powers were to be invited to sign an Act recognising and guaranteeing the inviolability of Egyptian territory. By this Act, no Power was to have the right, in any circumstances, to land troops in Egyptian territory, except in the following cases.

The Imperial Ottoman Government was to be entitled to occupy Egypt militarily, if there were reason to fear invasion from without, or to secure order in the interior, or if the Khedivate of Egypt refused to execute its duties towards the Sovereign Court, or to fulfil its international obligations. The Government of Her Britannic Majesty, on the other hand, would also be authorised to send troops to Egypt for the same reasons,

and might take the measures necessary to remove danger.

My proposals had at first been to make five years the period for withdrawal; but this Lord Salisbury ultimately agreed to reduce to three years, principally at the suggestion of the German Embassy, which gave us manful assistance.

The principal points, therefore, we had to discuss were the date of evacuation and the right of re-entry.

This right of re-entry was the real stumbling-block in the negotiations. Though it was recognised as necessary by most of the Powers, it was most distasteful to the Porte, as the Turkish Ministers considered it would transfer to a foreign Power rights over a Turkish province which properly belonged to the Sultan alone.

On the 1st of May, I was informed by the Grand Vizier that he was authorised by the Sultan to accept my proposals, and that an Iradé was being drawn up to conclude the whole Convention. With our acceptance of a three years' instead of a five years' time-limit all further objection seemed to be withdrawn. On May 22, the Sultan having given his authority, the Convention and Protocols annexed were signed by the Plenipotentiaries. By this signature the stipulations of Article VI. in the preliminary Convention, to which allusion has already been made, had been entirely fulfilled. It had been stipulated in that Convention that the respective Governments, on being satisfied as to

the security of the frontiers and the good working and stability of the Egyptian Government, should consult with regard to the conclusion of a Convention regulating the withdrawal of the British troops from Egypt in a convenient period. That further Convention was negotiated and approved, not only by the delegates of the Sultan, but by the Sultan himself, in writing. It was after this Convention had been signed that he refused to ratify or carry out conditions so solemnly undertaken. The reason for this decision of the Sultan is to be found in the attitude of some of the Great Powers.

Thus Article VI. of the preliminary Convention, signed by his Plenipotentiaries and ratified by the Sultan, remained, as Nubar Pasha had before expressed it, "the title-deed of our occupation." Thus it still remains, and no voice has ever been raised to question it.

On the 22nd of July, I started for England.

Apart from official considerations, I left Constantinople with regret. My residence there had been very pleasant. The European inhabitants of the different places in the Levant seem to form one great society. The names of certain great mercantile families—such as Hanson, Calvert, Sarell, and Whitall—have become identified with the different ports, and I am told that families of British origin take pride in keeping up English ways and traditions. A gentleman, who had travelled a great deal in the East, told me that when sharing the

hospitality of a well-known English family, he had for the first time felt quite at home when asked to take part in family prayers. If ever a name is mentioned, some one present is sure to give the place of residence also. A young gentleman once said to me, "Let me introduce to you my *fiancée*, Miss —— of Samsun."

Curiously enough, in Pera itself, from whatever nation they descend, all speak the same French, into which slang is frequently introduced as serious phraseology. A young lady was deploring the fate of her brother, who had been employed in the Post Office. I asked how he was getting on. She burst into tears, and said mournfully, "*Malheureusement on l'a dégommé.*"

For many reasons I very much regretted not being able to visit Egypt on my return to England. I should have liked to pay my respects to the Khedive, who, whatever defects may be attributed to him, was a kindly and right-thinking man. Some years later, after a severe illness in Persia which obliged me to return to England, I received from His Highness the following kind letter:—

PALACE OF ABDIN,
November 20, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR DRUMMOND WOLFF—It has given me much pain to learn from the papers of your return to England on account of health.

The last news, however, are very reassuring, and make me hope that it has only been a passing indisposition. Pray confirm me in this, and believe in my sentiments of sincere friendship.

MEHEMET THEWFIC.

CHAPTER LXIII

Illness—Minister in Persia—Journey to Tehran—Persian etymology—Travelling in Persia—Escort—Legation at Tehran—Audience of the Shah—His Majesty's descent—Shiah marriages—Lady Wolf's visit to the Shah's favourite wife—Treasury—Amin-es-Sultan—Persian Ministers—*Corps diplomatique* in Tehran—Lord Dufferin—Politics in Persia—Murder of a Kajar prince.

ON my return from Egypt, I fell very ill with a bad attack of gout. I was sent to Bath, and thence went to stay at Hampstead with Lord and Lady Glenesk. There unfortunately I was ill again, and they were good enough to let me remain with them for several weeks. In October, 1887, Lord Salisbury proposed to submit my name to the Queen for the appointment of Minister in Persia, and, having lost my seat in Parliament, I accepted the offer gratefully. It was understood that I was not to leave for Tehran until I had completely recovered from my illness. I knew that complicated questions had to be settled, and was glad to have an opportunity of taking part in them.

In the following March I started for my new post. The whole party found the journey—though long—most agreeable. We went by way of Paris.

From Marseilles we took steamer to Constantinople, where we stayed for some days, proceeding to the Black Sea; thence by Trébizond and Batoum to Tiflis.

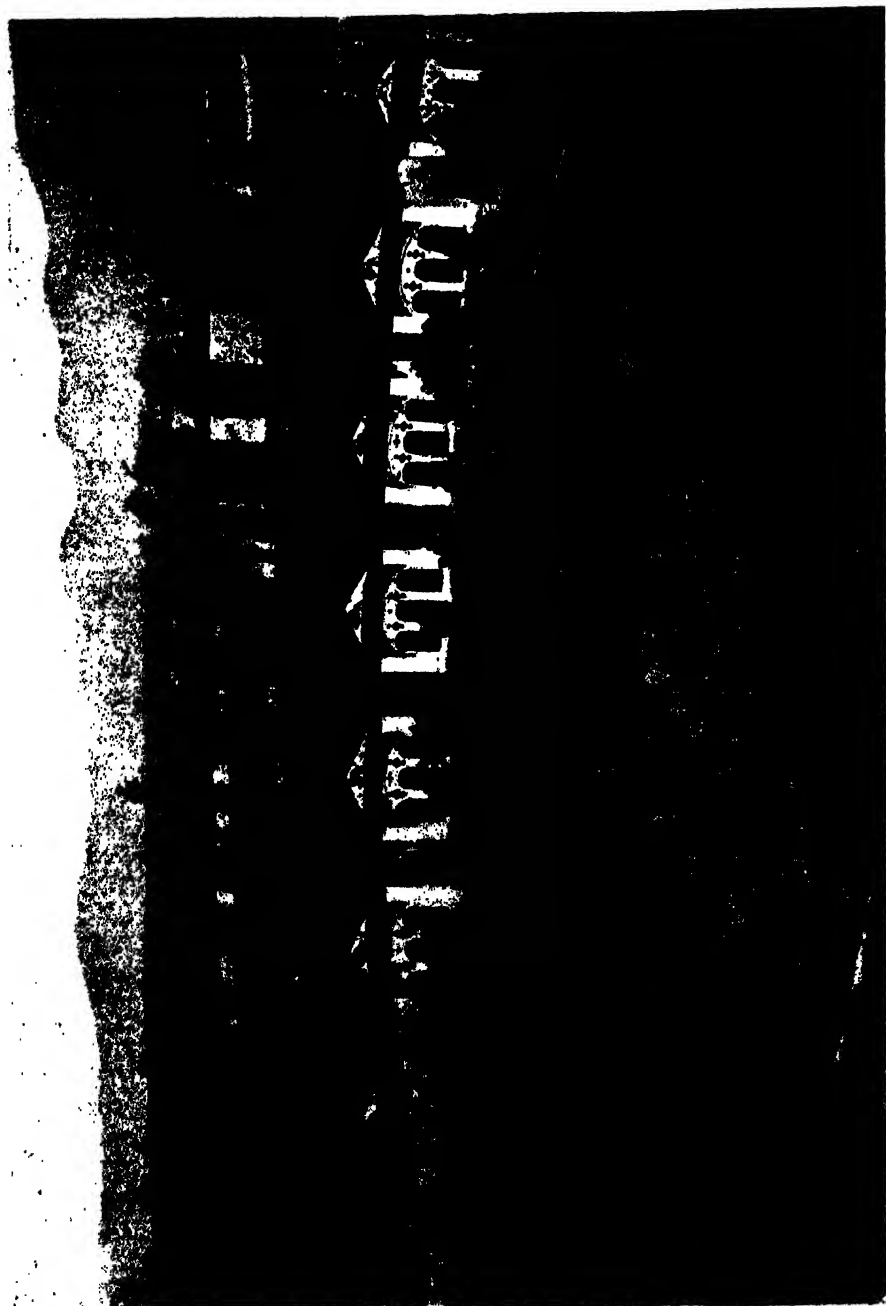
Tiflis is a very fine town, like a European capital. The costumes were markedly European, though modified on account of the latitude. The Georgian ladies wore their veils underneath their bonnets, but in other respects they were dressed like Europeans. The society of the place was most hospitable and good-natured. Amongst the first persons to greet me was my old opponent, Prince Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, Governor of the Caucasus. He called upon us, gave my wife a pretty present of Caucasian embroidery, and was most friendly in every way. The same may be said of Count and Countess Cheremetieff—he was the Governor of the province—and of many others. We were invited to dinner and shown over the town with the greatest kindness. Amongst other interesting persons, I saw a gentleman and his family who at one time had been imprisoned by Schamyl.

We were very sorry to leave Tiflis for Baku, a place redolent of petroleum. There we found a steamer which took us to Enzelli, where the Shah has a palace. The town is separated from Resht by a large lagoon, called the Murdab. The roots of this word are both European and Persian. *Murdab* means “dead water.” *Murd*, in Persian, signifies “dead,” the French *mort*; and *ob* means

“water,” the French word *eau*. There are many similarities between English and Persian. “Good, better, best” are in Persian, *khoob, behter, behterîn*. “Bad, worse, worst” are in Persian *bad, badder, baderîn*. In fact, the latter seems to me the better English of the two. “Name” in Persian is *nam*, and a man of bad reputation is called a man of *badnam*. All this is, no doubt, well known to philologists, of whom, I regret to say, I am not one.

We were given a house at Resht, where we passed the night, and the next day started on our journey for Tehran. This has been very much shortened since I left Persia, as the Russians obtained the concession for a roadway from Resht to Kazvin. From this place, about half-way to Tehran, a carriageable road already existed.

Our party consisted of myself and my family, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Nevill, and Colonel Stewart, a distinguished Indian officer who had been appointed Consul at Resht. He was afterwards promoted to be Consul-General at Tabriz, and finally became Consul-General in Russia, residing at Odessa. The ladies of the party were obliged to travel in *tachteravans*, horse-litters—a very uncomfortable mode of progression; while the men of the party were provided with horses. Our first stage was as far as Kuhdum, through lovely country closely resembling the prettiest parts of the New Forest. Here we found a fairly good hotel. At most of the other places we slept in



SATYAR ARAD.

the tents we carried with us. At night we were disturbed by the peculiar cries of the jackals, which seemed to abound in the neighbourhood. We had an escort of forty or fifty Persian soldiers, most picturesque in appearance, whose horsemanship was astounding. We purposely travelled rather slowly, as the Shah was absent from Tehran. His Majesty had given Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Minister, an extraordinary reception, and was determined to give me the same. He therefore did not wish me to arrive before his return. Sir Arthur Nicolson, the chargé d'affaires, sent Mr. Churchill to travel with me. His father's name had been closely associated with that of Sir Fenwick Williams at Kars. The Shah had also sent a Mehmandar---an officer charged to assist visitors---and some other high officers of his household to accompany me.

I was much impressed with the Legation at Tehran. There was a fine house, standing in a beautiful garden of several acres, full of roses and nightingales, intersected by rivulets flowing on blue tiles, and overshadowed by weeping willows. Round the garden were houses for the Secretaries.

On the opposite page is a picture of the Shah's summer palace, in Shimran, near Tehran, called the Saltanat Abad. It was built on the edge of a lake, and smaller houses close by were for his *andarûn* and suite.

My first audience of the Shah was most solemn. It took place in the Hall of the Peacock Throne.

His Majesty was covered with jewels, and carried a splendid scimitar, encrusted with diamonds. We all went in uniform, and the ceremony was very magnificent. I attended later audiences in plain clothes—a modification recently introduced—and sat with my hat on as a mark of respect to the Shah.

His Majesty was a direct descendant of Fath Ali Shah, and consequently a member of the tribe of Kajar, whose origin was Turkish. The Kajars are a very large class. It is said that there are at least three thousand of them in different grades of society, and all are noble. One of my servants was a Kajar, and went out with the carriage; but he was always called Khan. The Shah, curiously enough, is not the chief of the tribe. The head Kajar is called the Il-Khani.

Mussulmans of the Shiah denomination—to which the Shah belonged—marry four wives. Instead of having, as elsewhere, a supplement of innumerable concubines, they marry other women for limited periods. The Shah had married his favourite wife for ninety-nine years. When we had been in Persia for some time, they invited my wife to go and see the favourite. During the visit, the Shah came into the garden, and, according to etiquette, my wife was the only person allowed to be seated besides His Majesty. She sat next him, near one of the little brooks lined with blue tiles.

When a Minister's wife is asked to see the

Shah's *andarûn* (harem), she is expected to take with her any English lady who happens to be in the place. My wife took a lady who had been a governess. The Shah asked who she was, and my wife told him that she was Miss A——, who was going to marry Mr. B——, a gentleman employed in Tehran.

The Shah, in his bad French, said to her, "*Venez ici!*"

The lady obeyed, and curtsied to him.

In the same crude French, the Shah continued, "*Vous allez vous marier?*"

She curtsied, and said "*Oui, Sire.*"

Thereupon the Shah remarked, "*C'est tard!*"

On one occasion, when visiting Tiflis, the wife of an important functionary was introduced to the Shah. She was handsome, very tall, with broad shoulders, and seemed to have struck his fancy; but all he had to say was, "*Beaucoup!*"

We were more than once shown what was called the Treasury—a large room full of glass cases containing jewels. A great portion of the treasure was said to be kept in a cellar under a tank in the garden, and to contain valuables worth four millions. One thing that struck me particularly was a glass jar—such as one sees in chemists' shops—filled with loose pearls.

I was much struck by the Amin-es-Sultan, the unhappy Premier who has recently been assassinated. His name was Mirza Ali Asgar Khan, and he was descended from a Georgian

hostage of good birth who, with others, had been taken from Tiflis in the eighteenth century, when the Caucasian State was tributary to Persia. His father died in 1882, when virtually Prime Minister of Persia, though never nominated Sadr Azam. He began life in the Shah's household, and rose from the position of Abdar-Bashi (Commissary or Comptroller) to be Minister of the Palace, Head of the Treasury, Minister of Finance, and Master of the Mint. He also received the title of Amin-es-Sultan, a higher one than had ever before been given, which means "The Trusted of the Sultan." He reorganised the Mint, and struck the "Kran" silver unit, which bears a premium in relation to the old coin, and is popularly known as the "Amin-es-Sultani."

Mirza Ali Asgar Khan was the old Minister's second son, and became Superintendent of the Shah's landed property and large travelling establishments. In this position his exceptional character and capacity attracted the notice of the Shah, and on his father's death in 1882, His Majesty conferred all the offices he had held, and his title of Amin-es-Sultan, on the able son. Another of his titles was Atabeg-Azam, which means "The Most Mighty" or "The All-Powerful Lord."

The Amin-es-Sultan was a cool-headed, able, and judicious man, who inevitably inspired regard in all who knew him. He was accused of being in favour of Russia; but he once said to me, "It



ALI ABBAS KHAN, AMIN-ES-SULTAN, ATABEG-AZAM.

is absolutely necessary for me to hold the balance between England and Russia. Russia has a frontier of twelve hundred miles on the country, and without declaring war she can at any time do great injury to Persia by raising against her some of the numerous Yamoot Turcoman frontier tribes." While alive to the necessity of European civilisation, the Amin-es-Sultan also saw the danger of exciting the enmity of Russia. I always thought that he behaved in a statesmanlike manner, and he gave us great assistance in the various points that I had to urge upon him. I saw him not very long ago in England. During an interval when he was not in office he spent his time in visiting Japan, China, India, and Europe. His death is a great public calamity, for he was the only man in Persia who accepted the models of European institutions without prejudice or exaggeration.

The Amin-es-Sultan relied very much on a coadjutor of his—Kitabgi Khan—who was also of Georgian origin. He was a Roman Catholic, and married to an Armenian lady. The European element of the Persian Government was really represented by Kitabgi Khan, for he was well versed in Western matters—being able to draw up a concession and initiate commercial movements. He was the head of the Custom House.

The Amin-es-Sultan's rival in Persia was the Amin-ed-Dowleh, or "The Trusted of the State." He was the son of a late Under-Secretary of State

and Minister of the Purse, having a large property. Though an enlightened man, understanding European politics, he was somewhat of a *doctrinaire*, like most civilised Orientals, and dealt in economic platitudes.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs was Mirza Abbas Khan, or Kawam-ed-Dowleh, "The Prop of the State"—a Persian of the old school, who had for some time held the post of Minister of the Interior. He was of Afghan origin, and had leanings towards England. His wealth was great, but he was always afraid of being robbed. Though an able man, he was rather indifferent to foreign affairs, preferring to look after his own property; but he seemed to regret having left the Ministry of the Interior, which was being carried on by the Amin-es-Sultan. He was in the confidence of the Shah, though not to the same extent as the Premier.

Amongst other eminent persons at Tehran was the Nasr-ul-Mulk, recently named Prime Minister. He spoke English perfectly, having been educated at Balliol, I believe at the same time as Lord Curzon. I remember the pleasure with which he narrated the part he had taken when Sir William Harcourt was elected for Oxford.

On my own staff I found Sir Arthur Nicolson as First Secretary. During the time that he had conducted the affairs of the Legation, he had done much to smooth the way to the different points I had in view. He had been named a Knight

Commander of the Indian Empire, and is now, after a distinguished career, His Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg. Lady Nicolson is a sister of Lady Dufferin, and possesses the family charm, which has been appreciated wherever she has been in a diplomatic position.

The Russian Minister was Prince Nicholas Dolgorouki, who had, I believe, been brought up personally with the Emperor of Russia, with whom he was in high favour. He was a man of the most amiable character and in every way conciliatory. The Turkish Ambassador—the only representative holding that rank at Tehran—was Khalid Bey, a Kurd by birth, with charming manners, who had been tutor and friend of the Sultan Murad. He was said to be descended from Saladin. The French Minister was M. de Balloy, a man of great diplomatic experience. Baron Schenck was the German Minister. He came of a well-known family who, I believe, possess among them a country house in the Grand Duchy of Hesse, where every member of the family has the right to live when he chooses. He had been in China. M. de Balloy, too, had been in the East. The German Secretary, Major von Winckler, was a great friend of Count Herbert Bismarck. On the death of his wife, he had left the Army, and had taken a University degree, after which he was appointed to his post at Tehran. On his cards was engraved "Major Doktor Juris de Winckler," so he was generally known as the Major-Doctor. He was a

most kindly member of society and an obliging colleague.

The Austrian Minister was an old general, for a long time Minister at Montenegro—a clever and learned man, but a tremendous martinet who would not allow his Secretaries to wear wide-awake hats. The Italian representative was a *chargé d'affaires*, Count de Donato, who had long been a Consul. His wife was a daughter of one of King Victor Emmanuel's Chamberlains. He used to give excellent dinners, and boasted that he superintended the cooking of them himself. The American Minister-Resident, Mr. Spencer Pratt, was a very remarkable man.

Among the junior members of the *corps diplomatique* was Islan Effendi, the councillor of Embassy, whom I had known previously. He had been in London with Hassan Fehmi Pasha, and had seen a great deal of the world. M. Podjo, the Russian Secretary, was very pleasant. His name was originally Italian—Poggio—but had been Russianised. Poor man, he died while I was at Tehran, leaving a wife—a charming and delicate woman, the daughter of M. Arapoff, who had been Russian Minister at Lisbon.

On my arrival, I received from Lord Dufferin a very kind letter promising me his support. This was most necessary, as the Legation at Tehran is always the direct organ of the Indian Government. He approved of my opinion—that every encouragement should be given to European

capitalists to establish themselves in Persia and to develop its resources. The support I received from him was subsequently continued by Lord Lansdowne.

Lord Dufferin told me that he had adopted a suggestion I had made to him from Constantinople—that steps should be taken to improve the condition of the Indian pilgrims to Mecca. He wrote to me, “I have got the great Mr. Cook to ‘personally conduct’ them to the Prophet’s shrine, and the new arrangements are very much appreciated.”

One important point in politics at that time was the rivalry between the Veliahd, who was Heir-Apparent, and the Zil-es-Sultan. The former was not the Shah’s eldest son; but his mother had been a Kajar, which was not the case with the Zil, who really was the firstborn. The conditions of birth, therefore, gave precedence to the Veliahd, who ultimately succeeded. There was a party in India which advocated the separation of Persia into two States—one to be given to the Zil, who lived at Ispahan, where he was Governor, and the other to the Veliahd, who was Governor of Azerbaijan. The former was accused of having usurped a great deal of the Shah’s power, while Governor of Central and Southern Persia; and the Shah really imagined that the Zil intended to oppose his authority. Mr. Durand, Indian Foreign Secretary, who afterwards succeeded me in the Legation at Tehran, had been despatched on a Mission to

Afghanistan, to settle the difficulties that had arisen between the Persian Government and the Zil-es-Sultan.

Shortly after my arrival, a disagreeable incident occurred which throws light on the state of affairs then existing in Persia. A young Kajar prince, a grandson of Fath Ali Shah, became intoxicated, and was taken before Mirza Sayyid Muhammed, Ked Khoda of Sangledge, a district of Tehran. The Prince had previously had a difference with this functionary, owing to attentions paid with too great assiduity to a lady in whom the Ked Khoda was interested. The Ked Khoda, too, had been drinking, and, without seeing the prisoner, ordered chains to be put round his neck. On being told that the prisoner had declared himself to be a prince, he went to see him, and recognised his rival. The Prince complained of the indignity put upon him, and abused the magistrate, who thereupon threw a petroleum lamp at him. The Prince was set ablaze and suffocated, and his ear, nose, and ring-finger were cut off, to prevent his body being recognised. The question then arose as to what was to be done with it. The Ked Khoda sent for a mason whom he usually kept in chains, and ordered him to brick the body up; but the mason objected on the ground that it would be discovered. At an old woman's suggestion, therefore, the corpse was weighted with stones, and thrown into a tank. The friends of the young Prince became anxious and set enquiries

on foot, and he was traced to the magistrate's house. The latter was summoned, and detained pending further search. * Meanwhile it was found necessary to take the body out of the tank, and it was thrown into a pit under a dung-heap. Finally, it had to be carried away, and was deposited on the Kazvin Road, where it was discovered. The Prince's mother recognised her son by a mole on the body.

Then the whole story came out, and a number of the Kajar princes complained to the Shah, who, though loth to execute the magistrate on account of his being a Sayyid, thought that some compensation might be paid to the Prince's heirs, and that the Ked Khoda should be punished. It was said that the Sayyid's friends offered as much as five thousand tomans blood-money to save the man from execution; but this was refused. A group of young men, headed by one or two princes, swarmed into the prison. One of them aimed a blow at the murderer with a knife. This example was quickly followed by the rest, and the man was riddled with stabs. His body was then taken through the bazaar to the place of execution, and there exposed. On the way, it was followed by large crowds, causing a great tumult. Every now and then petroleum was poured on the body and it was set alight. The whole affair aroused very strong feeling against the police, whose chief was a European.

The Shah was furious when he heard what

had happened, and ordered two of those who had participated in the riot to be flogged before him. One of them, it was reported, paid a thousand tomans to be let off the beating, and was merely degraded from the rank of Amir Toman.

CHAPTER LXIV

Persian questions—Interview with M. de Staal—Reuter concession—Shah's proclamation securing his subjects' rights of property—Opening of the Karun River.

THE principal Persian questions that Lord Salisbury had mentioned to me were as follows:—the integrity of Persia; the development of its resources, and the maintenance of a strong, independent, and friendly Government.

In 1865, Lord Russell had proposed an exchange of declarations with Russia, containing an agreement not to disturb the then state of possessions in Central Asia. This Prince Gortchakoff refused. The assurances, however, of the desire of the Russian Government to respect the integrity and promote the independence and prosperity of Persia were renewed. Attempts had been made for many years to arrive at an understanding with Russia; but these had not been entirely successful, and the subsequent occupation of Merv by Russia was apprehended as a dangerous contingency.

On the side of Turkey, the frontier of Persia was still not accurately defined. A Convention

had been signed in 1869 at Constantinople, by which it was agreed that, pending the settlement of the disputed boundary, the *status quo* should be maintained, and no new buildings should be erected on the disputed frontier. The British and Russian representatives at Tehran, in February 1870, had presented the Ottoman Government with a copy of a map of the disputed boundary, leaving it to Persia and Turkey to trace out a line within certain limits, while questions in dispute were to be referred to a Russian and British Commission. This course, however, had never been taken.

Previously to leaving England, I had had a conversation with M. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador. At his request, I called upon him on the 3rd of March, and he read to me a telegram, stating that he was instructed by M. de Giers to speak to me respecting three points laid down by Lord Salisbury: (1) the renewal of the assurance that Russia, as well as England, would respect the integrity of the Persian Empire; (2) the inexpediency of constant rivalry between Her Majesty's Government and that of Russia in the development of the commerce of Persia, and the desirability of coming to an understanding as to the railways to be made; (3) the desirability of concluding the delimitation of the Russo-Persian frontier.

On the first point, M. de Giers declared his Government to be of the same opinion. On the

second, Russia generally entertained the same view, though M. de Giers considered that the question of railways should be treated with the Shah. As to the last point—that of the frontier—M. de Giers considered it as one to be dealt with between Russia and Persia alone, without the intervention of a third Power.

I told M. de Staal that I was glad the British despatch had been received in an amicable spirit, and observed that, as the integrity of Persia and the development of its resources concerned both England and Russia, the question of railways was most important to both countries. With regard to the frontier, I pointed out that this consideration virtually concerned the integrity of the Persian Empire, and affected in great measure the guarantees given in 1834 and 1838.

M. de Staal said, very frankly, that he did not sufficiently recollect the geography of the frontier; but he considered that the telegram was sufficient to show the desire of his Government to act cordially with the British Government in Persian matters.

I told M. de Staal that my instructions were to keep on the most friendly terms with Prince Dolgorouki, and, as far as possible, to act in co-operation with him. I was also to do my utmost to promote the cause of religious liberty and freedom of conscience. M. de Staal said that Prince Dolgorouki had been instructed to communicate with me frankly, and to maintain with me the best relations.

M. de Staal was one of the most amiable and straightforward diplomatists I ever met. His recent death has been the cause of sorrow to all who knew him.

I had also been instructed to endeavour to obtain some grant to Baron Reuter in compensation for the failure of the very extensive concessions previously given to him. Later on, his son, Baron George de Reuter, arrived at Tehran with a view to pressing his father's claims to compensation. He displayed the greatest possible intelligence and ability, and his mission—as will be seen later—was finally successful.

My first efforts were directed towards inducing the Shah to issue a proclamation securing the rights of property to his subjects. On the 23rd of May—about a month after my arrival—His Majesty announced his intention of publishing such a Proclamation, stating that henceforth no one should have the right to interfere arbitrarily with the life or property of any Persian—not even the Sovereign himself. On the 25th I was able to forward home the official Proclamation that I had pressed on the Persian Government. It was practically a repetition of the first division of the Hatti-Sherif of Gul Hane, which had been of such inestimable value to the Turkish people. The Proclamation was forwarded to the Veliâhd in a *Firman*, and was issued with every solemnity that could be given to a public act. Orders were given that it should be read in every mosque and place

of meeting, and smaller authorities were to give bonds for the due execution of its provisions. This is a usual form in Persia. The following is a translation of the Proclamation :—

The Great and Most High God having made our holy person the source of justice and benevolence, and the executor of his command and power, and having especially entrusted the protection of the lives and property of the subjects of the united countries of Persia into our well-skilled hands, in thanksgiving for this great bounty we consider it incumbent upon us in the execution of this trust not to draw back from or evade the distribution of justice and the protection of the lives and property of the people of this country from the encroachment of oppressors, and (we consider it incumbent upon us) to so properly endeavour and persevere that the people be masters of their lives and property, in order that they may, with the greatest ease and prosperity, engage themselves in enterprises which are the basis of civilisation and the source of wealth ; therefore, for the information and assurance of all the subjects and people, in order to make them acquainted with the watchfulness, tempered with justice, of our sovereign mind, by the issue of this great Proclamation, and noble Address, we make it generally known to the people of the united countries of Persia, that all our subjects, as regards their lives and property, are free and independent, so that they may, without fear or apprehension, exercise any right of proprietorship they like over their own belongings ; and any enterprise for the combination of money and formation of Companies for the construction of works and roads, and any branch of the branches of civilisation and wealth which they may undertake will give us satisfaction and pleasure, and the protection of such is our duty, and no one shall have the right or power to lay hands upon, or take possession of, or interfere with, the life or property, or punish or chastise the subjects of the Persian Government, except it be in execution of the religious and civil laws.

The Firman addressed to the Veliahd contained the same words as the Proclamation, with the following injunction in addition :—

It is commanded that the Dawn of the Soul's Light, the Key of the Gates of victory, the Light of the Eyes of the Khilafet and Kingdom, Resplendence of the Face of Sovereignty and Empire, Dear and Most Noble Son, Light of the Eyes, Muzafer-ud-Din Mirza, Veliahd of the Everlasting Kingdom of Persia, Governor-General of the Province of Azerbaijan, will execute this world-respected Imperial Firman, and not allow it to be disregarded; and this very Firman is to be read in all Masjids and meeting-houses, and is to be generally explained and instilled into the people, and published to all small towns, districts, and even villages and settlements, so that all the subjects of Persia be informed of this Imperial command, and bonds are to be taken from the petty authorities, binding them to carry out these commands, and any one disregarding this order will be so punished and chastised as to be the wonder of the spectators.

I was at once instructed by Lord Salisbury to express to the Shah the pleasure with which the Queen had received the news of the Proclamation and had read the enlightened statements of principle contained in it. "The pledge given by the Shah," Lord Salisbury went on to say, "in announcing to the foreign Representatives his determination to observe and enforce those principles forms an important epoch in His Majesty's reign, and there is every reason to hope that the step thus taken may prove the commencement of an era of increased prosperity for Persia."

The next point I urged upon the Shah's Government was the opening of the Karun River.

The matter had been the subject of negotiation for, I believe, about eighty years. In *The River Karun*, Mr. W. F. Ainsworth points out all the advantages to British trade to be gained by the opening of this river, and the same subject was developed by General Sir R. Murdoch Smith in an Address to the London Chamber of Commerce. This distinguished officer showed that "the end of the Karun navigation at Shuster is nearer to the central part of Persia than Bushire, not only by the 170 miles of river and estuary, but also by the 180 miles of sea between Bushire and the mouth of the Shat-al-Arab.

"In other words, 320 miles of water-carriage may, by means of the Karun route, be substituted for as many miles of pack-saddle transport by the Bushire one. To realise what this means, let us imagine for a moment the whole traffic between London and Scotland carried on by means of beasts of burden, and then a line of steamers to be suddenly started between London and Berwick."

The result of opening the Karun would be to give Persia what she urgently needed—an easy highway from some of her richest and most inaccessible provinces. At its mouth is Mohammerah, the best port on the Persian Gulf, being sheltered from all winds. All the British mercantile interests in Persia were anxious for the opening of this stream, as it would develop the trade of Khuzistan, a province about two hundred miles long and one hundred and thirty broad, abundantly supplied

with rivers—different in this respect to the rest of Persia. The climate of the upper part is very healthy. Tobacco, rice, dates, grain—especially barley—cotton, indigo, and opium could all be grown there. Sugar had, at one time, been very abundant. Tent-cloths and coarse woollens were extensively manufactured. White naphtha and bitumen are also produced, and there are signs of old irrigation works. Khuzistan, with little care, could be made a second Egypt. The Indian Government, in their publications, placed the utmost value on the development of this province, which, properly administered, would prove an enormous source of wealth.

On October 30, 1888, after prolonged negotiations, and great misgivings on the part of the Shah, the following circular was published:—

The Persian Government, with a view to the extension of commerce and wealth in her provinces and the progress of agriculture in Khuzistan and Ahwaz, has ordered that commercial steamers of all nations, without exception, besides sailing vessels which formerly navigated the Karun River, undertake the transport of merchandise in the Karun River from Mohammerah to the Dyke at Ahwaz; but it is on the condition that they do not pass the Dyke at Ahwaz upwards, as from the Dyke upwards the river navigation is reserved to the Persian Government itself and its subjects, and the tolls which the Persian Government will organise shall be paid at Mohammerah. Such vessels are not to carry goods prohibited by the Persian Government, and vessels are not to stay longer than necessary for the unloading and loading of commercial loads.

CHAPTER LXV

Summer at Gulahek -- Attempt to come to an understanding with Russia -- Letter to Prince Dolgorouki—Imperial Bank of Persia—Mr. Cartwright's mission to India—The Shah's projected visit to England · His tour in 1873—Journey from Tehran—Return to England.

IN the summer of 1888 we migrated from the town residence to Gulahek, the country-house of the Legation. To this house were attached not only large grounds, but a village, which practically was a little sovereignty. There were smaller houses in the grounds; but for meals and other meetings we gathered in an enormous tent that had been given, years before, by the Indian Government. One curious relic of the past still existed in the shape of the greeting given to the Minister when arriving at or departing from Gulahek. At a certain point, the Ked Khoda of the village appeared with a lamb, whose throat was cut in the presence of the Minister, as a kind of sacrifice.

The Russian Legation had a residence not far off. The French, I think, had no regular house in the country, but hired one every year.

Previously to leaving Tehran, I had had more than one conversation with Prince Dolgorouki as

to the possibility of the British and Russian Governments coming to some understanding with regard to the future of Persia. These conversations were entirely personal; but I prevailed on the Prince—who was always very obliging—to ask his Government whether they would be prepared to examine the possibility of such an arrangement. Without some basis, the Russian Government considered it impossible for any discussion to take place. After being urged several times by Prince Dolgorouki to give him this basis, and after an exchange of telegrams with Lord Salisbury, I prepared and delivered to the Prince a confidential letter. It was absolutely personal on my part, and could in no respect compromise Her Majesty's Government. As the Central Asiatic question was daily assuming greater proportions, I did not think that blame could attach to any attempt to anticipate serious complications by a peaceable settlement.

Prince Dolgorouki thanked me for the paper, which he read through in my presence, his only remark being that the principal difficulty in the way of an arrangement was the fact that where British commerce flourished, Russian trade failed. He enquired if I had spoken to the Shah on the subject. I replied that I had done so in a general way, and that His Majesty had said he would welcome any plan that guaranteed his territory and that was supported by Great Britain and Russia.

At the risk of being tedious, I now give a translation of this letter. It may present additional interest in view of the Agreement recently entered into between the two countries.

Very Confidential

GULAHK, June 13, 1888.

MY DEAR PRINCE—In our different conversations I think that we have both expressed the same desire, namely, that within the limits of our competence each should do what he can to maintain peace between our two countries, and to consolidate it on the soundest bases. I have more than once expressed the idea that in this country means might be found of contributing to such a solution—not with any egotistic object, nor for the exclusive advantage of our two Governments, but with the aim of establishing in Persia a civilisation which is now lacking in so many respects. It seems to me that by establishing the prosperity of this country, and by assisting in the development of her resources, her two neighbours will interpose between their frontiers a neutral territory, which, while profiting by their support and legitimate influence, would remove the friction which is the inevitable result of a state of uncertainty. Such a project, if it could be carried out, would be the complement of the recent arrangement regulating the Afghan frontier. Inspired on both sides by good faith, it would furnish the elements of an understanding that would survive many passing misunderstandings.

In principle and in theory such an understanding should recommend itself to the benevolent study of every Government. I understand from what you told me that yours is not indisposed to examine its possibility. But you added, with much justice, that the realisation of such an idea rested almost entirely on its details, and that with all the goodwill possible the theory could not be accepted without the certainty that it could be put into practice. It is with the object of supplying this deficiency, and at the same time, of furnishing a basis of discussion, that I venture to offer you

these suggestions confidentially, and as being purely personal. These suggestions are not clothed with the authority of my Government: they only amplify the sense of the despatch addressed by Lord Salisbury to Sir Robert Morier—of which you have already had cognisance—and of M. de Giers' reply. But, with the help of your information, they might perhaps formulate in a practical fashion the abstract ideas that we have exchanged.

We must first take into consideration the position in which the Shah is placed. Though full of good intentions, he finds his best desires obstructed or frustrated by influences whose extent we know. Though master of a people, he finds himself almost helpless in the face of traditions which are not warranted to improve the lot of his subjects. Everything is lacking: laws, a spirit of enterprise, tribunals, science, motive force. If capital exists in the country, it is buried for fear of being exposed to iniquitous but irresistible claims. The Sovereign himself does not adopt any continuous policy. His existence is an anxious one. He recognises the necessity for a new state of things; but he finds himself deprived of the moral, political, and material support which might sustain him on the path of progress. He knows how precarious is his position—that it is at the mercy of influences which he cannot resist. Once his position is solidly guaranteed, there is reason to believe that he would willingly lend himself to the counsels given by enlightened and well-disposed allies.

In a Convention regulating the relations between the three Powers, His Majesty's position would be made clear. Solid and indisputable guarantees would be given on both sides to ensure the integrity and independence of the States of the Shah, who would invite the support of his two allies in the measures which he proposes to adopt for ameliorating the condition of his people and consolidating their prosperity. Peace and friendship would be proclaimed between the Shah and his allies, and the configuration of the frontiers of the kingdom would be laid down in a map to be drawn up by a Mixed Commission.

A Technical Commission—also Mixed—should be ap-

pointed with the object of preparing a Report on the means of communication necessary to develop the natural resources of the country, whether roads, railways, canals, or rivers. These ways should be projected so as to facilitate the resources of the provinces with respect to communication with the sea or between the great towns, and with regard to the commercial needs of the country—not on strategic principles. The two Governments should undertake never to make use of these ways for the transport of their troops or munitions of war, except by a preliminary understanding between them, and in order to ensure the objects of the Convention. The two Governments should undertake further, so soon as the Commission had made its Report, which should be completed within the space of [] months, to facilitate by every means in their power the construction of roads, etc.

The Shah, for his part, within a space of time to be determined, would publish a Law regulating the conditions of Concessions to be granted for roads, mines, forests, canals, and also for the navigation of rivers. He would first establish a Commercial Code, regulating the relations of foreigners amongst themselves as well as with the natives, and Mixed Tribunals to administer this Code. His Majesty would also appoint a Mixed Commission for the preparation of a Civil and Criminal Code, and for the institution of the necessary Tribunals. Turkey would, in the first instance, be invited to adhere to the Convention, with the right of nominating members of the Mixed Commissions. Invitations to other Powers would follow. Mixed Commissions not being always, in my opinion, the best means of arriving at satisfactory conclusions, it would perhaps be desirable to find some other method.

This, my dear Prince, is the sketch of the mechanism which seems to me to be necessary for the carrying out of the ideas that we have discussed. I know that it is very incomplete, and it is for you to add the wheels which are required. If my composition ends in nothing, nothing will be lost; but I hope that we may establish the promise of a prosperous future. Thus, under the seal of an absolutely personal letter, I have confided to you my whole idea, in

the hope that we may arrive at a solution which may ameliorate the destiny of Persia, satisfy the legitimate requirements of the two countries that we represent, and open a new field to the commerce and industry of the world. —Believe me, etc.,

H. DRUMMOND WOLFF.

Meanwhile, an agent of the Oriental Bank had arrived at Tehran for the purpose of establishing a branch of that institution. The Persian Government, without much difficulty, had allowed this establishment to take place; but it was subsequently merged into the Imperial Bank of Persia, which I had been instructed to support, and the concession for which had been given to Baron Julius de Reuter. This concession was signed on January 30, 1889, and has worked successfully, being, in many respects, very ample. I myself was a witness to the signature of Baron George de Reuter, and the whole procedure was registered in the Chancery of the Grand Ministry of the Interior, Finance, and of the Court. It bore the seal of the Amin-es-Sultan.

In the following September, during the Shah's visit to England, the Imperial Bank of Persia was brought out. In order to facilitate the issue, it was also incorporated under a Royal Charter. The subscription list amounted to seven times the capital. The founders were Baron Julius de Reuter, Messrs. David Sassoon and Co., Messrs. J. H. Schröder and Co., Sir Walpole Greenwell and Co. The Bank has been a great help to the country, and its notes are now taken freely. The

success of the issue induced many to make application to the Shah and his Ministers for other concessions in Persia. The Russians applied for railway concessions, some of which were granted ; but they do not seem to have been particularly successful.

In January 1889, Mr. Chauncy Cartwright, who had come temporarily with me to Persia, left for England, taking India on his return journey. There were several points under discussion between the Tehran Legation and the Government of India, on which I thought Mr. Cartwright might give valuable information to Lord Lansdowne. I was able to send the Viceroy satisfactory accounts of the progress of traffic on the Karun, as the Persian Government seemed to be in earnest in trying to develop trade.

About the same time it was decided that the Shah, who was going to Russia, should pay a visit to England also. I was anxious that this should be as complete as possible, and should give the Shah a more extensive knowledge of the country than he had gained on his former visit, in 1873, which had principally been confined to festivities near the metropolis. On that occasion he had inspected Woolwich Arsenal, and visited Richmond. He had been present with the Queen at a review in Windsor Park, and had seen the Bank of England, the Tower, and the Crystal Palace. He also proceeded to Lancashire, and paid a visit to the Duke of Sutherland at Trentham. His Majesty's visit in

1878 lasted a fortnight ; but in 1889—when I had the honour of accompanying him—he remained from the 1st till the 29th of July.

In the spring of 1889 I left Tehran, my family having previously returned to England. I travelled with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Nevill. On the way from Tehran to Resht we met some wandering tribes and asked their name. As far as we could gather, one answered that they belonged to the tribe of Zigani. I thought that this might mean “gipsy,” and enquired if they told fortunes. To this, however, they gave the most indignant denial.

We were escorted by some of our *gholams*, or mounted guards, headed by the Mirakhor, whose office in English sounds very dignified—Master of the Horse. In the neighbourhood of Manzil, where we spent one night, I saw a lighter used as a ferry across the river Sufid Rud. This had been imported as a first instalment of Baron Reuter’s former concession. As far as I can recollect, I rather think this was at Rudbar. I sent to enquire whether the proprietor would take us down the river in this vessel, and he consented to do so. I shall never forget that journey. The weather was beautiful, and the scenery most remarkable, for on either side the banks sloped upwards, covered with trees, having the appearance of a primeval forest coming down to the very brink of the river. The Mirakhor was so timid of the water that he would not come with us, but

rode on with his men. He asked us whether we wished to deprive his children of their parent. We found a beautiful open space at which to have our luncheon, and this meal gave rise to an incident that—though slight in itself—struck me as bringing this wild scenery up to modern date. Mr. Nevill, who looked after our commissariat, had brought some *pâté de foie gras*. When opening this on board, it unfortunately dropped into the river, and I felt convinced that this was the first time since the world was created that *foie gras* had fallen into the Sufid Rud.

We were accompanied for part of the way by Mr. Fairfax Cartwright, who was leaving the Legation, and on the road we met Kitabgi Khan—already mentioned—who was going to Europe in attendance on the Amin-es-Sultan, then Sadr Azam, or Prime Minister.

After a journey through the Caucasus, we took a Russian steamer at Batoum, which proceeded to Odessa, touching at all the principal intermediate ports on the Crimean coast. The steamer was excessively comfortable. Instead of berths, the cabins contained four-post beds, and the fare was excellent. I saw many places of interest, and at Sevastopol I met my old friend, Madame Makouhine, with her husband, the Admiral, whom I had never seen before. I only stayed a very short time at Odessa, as I wished to arrive in England as soon as possible.

I passed through Vienna on my way to Brussels,

where I had the honour of seeing the King, and where it was expected that the Shah would stay on his way to England: His visit produced a certain effect in Belgium. A Minister for that country was appointed to Tehran, and several Belgians obtained concessions in Persia. One of them—M. Naus—was appointed Minister of Customs.

CHAPTER LXVI

Arrangements for the Shah's visit—His Majesty's reception—Visit to Windsor—Entertainments in London—Hatfield—Visits to great manufacturing towns—Scotland—Newcastle—Royal progress—Brighton—The Shah's departure—Characteristics.

ON my arrival in England, I at once began my endeavour to organise a pleasant visit for the Shah. At a party at the Foreign Office I met the Duke of Norfolk, who very kindly at once assured me of his willingness to receive His Majesty at his house near Sheffield, called The Farm.

On the 30th of June, accompanied by Mr. Churchill, I left for Antwerp on board the *Victoria and Albert*. The other royal yacht, the *Osborne*, was also sent to bring over the Persian Sovereign and his suite. Lord de Ros, Lord-in-Waiting to the Queen, and the late Sir John M'Neill, Equerry-in-Waiting, were appointed by Her Majesty to be in attendance on the Shah. His Majesty came on board at Antwerp, being accompanied as far as the landing-place by the King of the Belgians. He had with him several Ministers in attendance.

Royal salutes were fired as the yachts passed up the river, which was the route I had ventured to suggest as the most likely to give the Shah an

idea of the greatness of London. He was met at Tilbury by His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and the Princes Victor Albert and George of Wales. At six o'clock on the afternoon of the 1st of July His Majesty landed at Westminster Stairs, where he was received by the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, and the Master of the Horse, the Duke of Portland, who had just won the Derby with "Donovan." On more than one occasion, when the Duke of Portland was driving in an open carriage in the procession, shouts of "Hurrah for Donovan!" were mingled with cries in honour of the Persian monarch. From Westminster Stairs the Shah drove to Buckingham Palace, where he was lodged with his staff, including Mr. Churchill and myself. Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had been Minister in Persia, had accompanied the Shah on his visit in 1873, and assisted me in the somewhat arduous duty of personally conducting a crowned head.

The following morning the Shah received the *corps diplomatique* and the members of Her Majesty's Government, proceeding afterwards to Windsor, where he was received by the Queen. After visiting the Mausoleum at Frogmore, he returned to Buckingham Palace and went to the Opera.

On July 3, there was a luncheon at the Guildhall and a ball at Buckingham Palace. The Shah dined at Chelsea House that day, and long afterwards proved that he had not forgotten Lord Cadogan, by sending him a telegram of congratu-

lation from Tehran on some occasion of family rejoicing.

One morning he felt inclined to go and see some of the London clubs. I therefore took him to the Carlton and to the United Service. At the latter, a member was seen fast asleep on a sofa. The Shah beckoned us all to come and look. In a minute or two the sleeper awakened, and seemed quite dazed at seeing an Eastern potentate and his suite standing round him.

On the 4th of July, there was a garden-party at Marlborough House, at which the Queen was present. The Shah dined privately in his apartments, and afterwards was present at an entertainment given by Sir Albert Sassoon at the Empire Theatre, and attended by numerous members of the Royal Family.

Accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Shah was present at Kempton Park Races on the 5th. He dined with Lord Rosebery, and afterwards attended a State Concert, given in his honour, at the Albert Hall. On July 6, he visited the Crystal Palace, where he was met by the Prince and Princess of Wales and other members of the Royal Family. His Majesty was much pleased with an exhibition of Japanese acrobats and performing elephants.

On the 7th, the Shah went to Hatfield, where he was the guest of Lord and Lady Salisbury, and where he met the Prince and Princess of Wales. He slept in "Queen Elizabeth's Room." The next

day there was a great garden-party at Hatfield, when a photograph was taken of His Majesty and of the chief guests invited to meet him. Late in the afternoon, he proceeded to Ashridge, to stay with Lord and Lady Brownlow. He drove through the park the following morning to see the deer, planted a tree in the grounds, and proceeded to Halton, where he was entertained at luncheon by Mr. Alfred de Rothschild, and where he made the acquaintance of Lord Rothschild. At Aylesbury an address of welcome was presented. The Shah stayed that night with Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild at Waddesdon, where he met their Royal Highnesses Prince Albert Victor of Wales, Prince George of Wales, and the Duke of Cambridge.

On the 10th of July, His Majesty was the guest of Lord Windsor at Hewell Grange, near Birmingham. This had been arranged by one of my oldest friends—the late Sir Augustus Paget, father-in-law of Lord Windsor. Lord and Lady Windsor were good enough to come all the way from Vienna to settle the details of the visit, there being some difficulty in the fact of a new house being under construction.

The following morning the Shah arrived in Birmingham, rather later than had been arranged, as he was very much fatigued; but he visited Elkington's works and other places of interest. Amongst the crowd the Shah recognised the *Illustrated London News* artist, whom he had seen on the Thames. He had luncheon with the Mayor in the Council House.

THE SHAH AT HATFIELD

Amongst those present were :—

The SHAH.

Their Royal Highnesses the PRINCE and PRINCESS OF WALES.

DUC D'AUMALE.

Lord and Lady SALISBURY.

AMIN-ES-SULTAN.

The RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR.

The SPANISH AMBASSADOR.

The GERMAN AMBASSADOR.

The FRENCH AMBASSADOR and Madame WADDINGTON.

The TURKISH AMBASSADOR.

The PERSIAN MINISTER.

The LORD CHANCELLOR.

DUCHESS OF MANCHESTER.

Lady LONDONDERRY.

Lady CADOGAN.

Lord LOTHIAN.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL.

Sir HENRY RAWLINSON.

Myself.



THE SHAH AT HATFIELD.

On the 12th, he went to Sheffield, where he visited the Atlas Works, and, having had luncheon, drove to The Farm—the Duke of Norfolk's house. There he stayed the night, first returning to Sheffield for a reception given by the wife of the Master Cutler in the Cutlers' Hall. The next morning, the Shah inspected Messrs. Rodgers' cutlery works, visited the ivory room, and made several purchases. His Majesty also inspected various other manufactories. After a luncheon given by the Mayor, at which were present the Lord Mayor of York and other Mayors of Yorkshire towns, the Shah proposed the health of the Queen, and the Duke of Norfolk toasted the Master Cutler. That evening, His Majesty arrived in Liverpool, where he was entertained at a banquet by the Lord Mayor. He was very much knocked up by all that he had gone through, and was therefore unable to remain during the whole of the banqueting programme. He stayed at Newsham House, where the Queen had lodged three years previously.

On July 14, the Shah visited Chester, by invitation of the Duke of Westminster, who entertained him with a luncheon and garden-party at Eaton Hall. This part of the reception was suggested to me by Mr. Gladstone, who, all through, showed me great kindness in my task. Among other objects of interest at Eaton Hall, His Majesty saw with much pleasure some of the Duke's celebrated race-horses.

The Shah returned to Liverpool in the evening,

and drove to the landing-stage the next morning, where he embarked on the *Skirmisher* to inspect the *Umbria*, of the Cunard Line. After a luncheon at the Town Hall, he left for Manchester. There he was entertained to dinner by the Lord Mayor, and responded to the toast of his health. His speech was translated by the Nasr-ul-Mulk, who has already been mentioned. His Majesty referred to the greatness of England's trade—one of the most powerful agents in the pacification and progress of the world. The main line of trade between Persia and England, said the Shah, was connected with the enterprising city of Manchester, which had first opened a way between the two countries.

The following day's programme was postponed for an hour, as the Shah was so much fatigued: but at noon the procession started to inspect the Ship Canal. A luncheon was afterwards given at the Town Hall, at which, however, the Shah was not present. In his absence, the Grand Vizier's health was proposed, and to this—at His Highness' request—I returned thanks. Before leaving Manchester, the Shah made a special request that the Persian National Anthem should be avoided in future, as he had heard so much of it since his arrival in England. He asked that some music, which he particularly admired, should be forwarded to him in Scotland. Nowhere, said His Majesty, had he received a warmer welcome, and he described the city as "Grand, grand Manchester."

That evening, the Shah reached Buchanan

Castle, on Loch Lomond, the seat of the Duke of Montrose, where a party had been asked to meet him. After dinner, there was an exhibition of Highland dancing. The next day he visited Glasgow, and had luncheon with the Corporation. When returning thanks for the reception given him, the Shah said: "The beauty of your scenery, the character of your people, the poetry of your country have made the name of Scotland one of the most popular of the countries of the world." After visiting one of the shipbuilding yards, he returned to Buchanan Castle in the evening.

On July 19, the Shah visited Deeside, and was the guest of Mr. Mackenzie of Kintail and Glenmuick. On the way, he received an address of welcome at Aberdeen, and reached Ballater at five o'clock, where his host and the Duke of Clarence drove down to meet him. They visited a marquee to watch Highland games and athletic sports, and then drove to Glenmuick House, where a tenants' ball was given in the evening. The Shah was escorted to the ballroom by clansmen bearing lighted torches.

On Saturday, the 20th, accompanied by Prince Albert Victor and his suite, the Shah proceeded to Invercauld Castle, to be the guest, until the following Monday, of Sir Algernon Borthwick, who was then in occupation of that house. On the way, the procession drove along the banks of the Dee to Balmoral Castle, where refreshments were served. The Shah was conducted over the Castle.

He reached Invercauld at five, and after dinner there was a torch-dance and a ball. Sunday was a day of repose. On the Monday, the Shah reached Aberdeen, where he was received by the Lord Provost. His Majesty stated that he had greatly enjoyed his visit to Deeside, and had much admired both the loveliness of the scenery and the beauty of the ladies. He also did a little sketching, and copied a stuffed bird. At night he arrived at Hopetoun House, where he was the guest of Lord Hopetoun—now Marquess of Linlithgow—who had just been appointed Governor of Victoria. On the 23rd, the Shah visited the Forth Bridge. He was received by Lord Colville of Culross, and conducted over the works by Sir John Fowler, and by the contractor, Mr. Arrol. Thence he drove to Edinburgh, where he was received by the Lord Provost and by Sir R. Murdoch Smith, whom his Majesty had known in Persia. After a luncheon given by the Corporation, he started for Rothbury, to be the guest of Lord Armstrong at Cragside. Here I noticed a slight peculiarity in His Majesty. Although a splendid horseman—as are nearly all Persians—he seemed to feel intense nervousness when driving in an open carriage. On the way to Cragside, one of the horses showed some restiveness, and the Shah appeared to be really alarmed.

On the 24th, His Majesty visited Newcastle, and inspected the Elswick Factory, belonging to Messrs. Armstrong, where he had luncheon. He

was shown the gunboat *Whiting*, built for Australia, and the Italian warship *Piemonte*. The Shah went through the ordnance department, examined various heavy guns, and also saw some disappearing carriages for coast defence, made for the Italian Government, as well as guns for Spain. His Majesty showed the greatest interest in the various explanations given by Sir John Adye, the celebrated general and writer, who had, I think, been made General of the Ordnance. He was a guest at Cragside during the Shah's visit. His daughter had married the gentleman who is now Lord Armstrong. We also met the Bishop of Newcastle and Mrs. Wilberforce on this occasion. I had known him a long time before in Hampshire, for he was the son of my old and respected friend, the Bishop of Oxford—afterwards Bishop of Winchester.

After the visit to Newcastle, the Shah proceeded to Bradford and dined privately at the Town Hall, where he spent the night. The next day he visited several manufactories, and attended a banquet and a reception in the evening. On the 27th, His Majesty left for Leeds, where there were more addresses, a luncheon and toasts, and where he again visited various manufactories and foundries. At five o'clock, he left for Brighton. There he was received by the Mayor and Town Council, and was the guest of Sir Albert Sassoon for three nights. On the 27th, he visited the West Pier and was present at a diving exhibition, performed

by Professor Reddish at the Shah's special request. A banquet was given at the Pavilion by the Mayor, and the Shah also attended an entertainment in the Dome, when the grounds were illuminated. The next day he visited several places of interest.

On the 29th of July, His Majesty left Brighton for Portsmouth, where he was received by Sir Leicester Smyth, who was in command of the Southern District, and by Admiral Commerell. He embarked on board the *Victoria and Albert* and sailed round the Fleet, which was being prepared for a review. The yacht drew up near H.M.S. *Anson*. On his previous visit in 1873, the Shah had recorded in his diary a visit to the *Agincourt*, then the largest ship-of-war of the British Navy. In 1889, the *Agincourt* was obsolete.

His Majesty landed at Trinity Pier, East Cowes, and was met by Prince Henry of Battenberg. He drove thence to Osborne to take leave of the Queen, who presented him with a miniature of herself, painted by Heath and set in diamonds. Accompanied by the family of Prince Henry of Battenberg, the Shah returned to the *Victoria and Albert*, and at 5.30 embarked for Cherbourg.

On this, his second visit, the Shah gave no evidence of the slight eccentricities that had marked his first journey. During the whole of this tour, His Majesty seemed thoroughly to

appreciate the warmth with which he was greeted by the crowds. Like a popular candidate, when people thronged round his carriage he would often shake hands, through the window, with those wishing to greet him.

CHAPTER LXVII

The Shah's statesmanship—The Prince of Wales—Journey to Berlin—Audience of the Czar—Despatch to Lord Salisbury—Return to Tehran—Visitors—Negotiations with Russia—Russia and England in Persia—Proposed visit to India—Illness—Return to England—Ordered abroad—Resignation of post at Tehran—Letter from the Shah.

THE previous chapter will have shown how the Shah, during his English progress, was received by all classes with cordiality and even with enthusiasm. Queen Victoria and the King—then Prince of Wales—had seen a great deal of him, and had paid His Majesty every possible attention. The language used by the Shah had been very calm and statesmanlike. He had expressed a desire of promoting the interests of Persia by the introduction of foreign capital and by the development of her great resources. For this purpose he felt he must rely on the friendship and co-operation of his two neighbours, England and Russia. His Majesty said he would be glad if this could be secured by a binding and permanent arrangement.

The Prince of Wales had been much struck with the demeanour of the Shah, and by his enlightened way of treating public affairs. His

Royal Highness was desirous of doing not only what would be personally pleasing to His Majesty, but also what would prove beneficial to his country. The Prince was about to proceed to Copenhagen to meet the Emperor of Russia, and he therefore suggested to Lord Salisbury that I should return to Persia by way of Berlin, where I might have an opportunity of submitting to the Emperor of Russia the views I had expressed since my arrival in Persia, and had embodied in my Memorandum to Prince Dolgorouki.

I therefore left England for Berlin, by Flushing, accompanied by Mr. Cartwright, who had so often before been my travelling colleague. At Berlin we were lodged by Sir Edward Malet at the British Embassy. I was introduced to the French Ambassador, who received me very cordially, and I also renewed my acquaintance with Count Herbert Bismarck, who knew the object of my visit, and said that nothing would be more reassuring to his father than my success. For Germany, with her long frontier, it was essential that Russia should be at peace, and the Count remarked that, if only this could be secured for fifteen years, great blessings would result. A day or two afterwards, the Czar arrived, and was welcomed by the German Court with marked deference and ceremonial. A gala representation took place at the Opera, to which I was invited, and where I had the honour of being introduced to the German Emperor and Empress by Sir Edward Malet.

Owing to the gracious intervention of the Prince of Wales I had the honour of an audience of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia on the following day. This interview I can best detail by the reproduction of a despatch I wrote to Lord Salisbury from Vienna, which both the British and the Russian Governments have given me permission to publish. It ran as follows :—

Secret and Confidential

VIENNA, *October 14, 1889.*

MY LORD—As I telegraphed from Berlin, I had the honour of an audience yesterday of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia.

I laid before His Imperial Majesty, as the reason for which I had so much desired the interview, the strong necessity which existed for an understanding between England and Russia for the commercial development of Persia. I indicated how great was the desire of the mercantile community everywhere for new markets, and that a most important one was to be found in Persia. On this account that country could not be looked upon with indifference, and it was an absolute necessity for European Governments to second the efforts of their merchants in the development of Persian resources. In Persia, England and Russia shared the preponderating influence. It was most desirable, therefore, in the interests of both nations as well as of Persia, to work harmoniously together in this field instead of maintaining a rivalry, beyond the ordinary limits of commercial competition, which produced perpetual irritation, and prevented a cordial understanding between them.

In what England had done in Persia, while no doubt seeking the interests of her subjects, she had never endeavoured to injure or impede those of Russia, and a distinct understanding between the two countries and an agreement for co-operation could not but induce a feeling of mutual friendliness.

His Imperial Majesty replied that he desired nothing more than some such understanding. His feelings towards England were of the most friendly nature, and nothing could exceed the cordiality of his relations with the Royal Family. He feared, however, that the objections would come rather from Her Majesty's Government than from his own. The difficulties he had felt hitherto were twofold. In your Lordship's despatch, communicated to M. de Giers in February 1888, mention had been made of two zones of influence, north and south, which were difficult to define; while with respect to the note addressed by me to Prince Dolgorouki, His Imperial Majesty and his advisers had looked on it as a personal act of my own which might not be binding on Her Majesty's Government. The proposals would have been looked upon in another light if made as from Government to Government, after which His Imperial Majesty was of opinion they might with advantage have been discussed at Tehran. His Imperial Majesty said that with regard to the opening of the Karun, the irritation expressed against England was not shared by those who knew the rights of the case, as they were aware that we had previously announced our wishes in that respect; but where the Russian Government felt hurt was at the ease with which Persia had adhered to our wishes while she delayed fulfilling engagements she had undertaken or requests preferred by Russia, such as the completion of the Kuchan road, the Meshed Consulate, and other pending matters. Prince Dolgorouki, to His Imperial Majesty's great regret, was to leave Tehran. He would be succeeded by M. de Bützow, now Russian Minister at Athens. This gentleman, who had been in China and had gathered great experience elsewhere, would proceed to St. Petersburg immediately after the Royal Wedding, and thence repair to Tehran.

His Imperial Majesty then proceeded to make the following remarks, which I do not venture to describe as a proposal or message, but which he desired me to report to your Lordship.

His Imperial Majesty is most desirous of an understanding

with England in respect of Persia, which may cement the friendly relations of the two countries.

Any agreement of this kind must secure complete reciprocity for both in the matter of railways, waterways, or other industrial and commercial works or undertakings.

If your Lordship will instruct Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg to state to the Imperial Government that I am empowered to discuss such an Agreement with the Russian Minister, M. de Bützow will receive similar instructions from the Imperial Government.

I respectfully thanked His Imperial Majesty for this statement, and added that, far from there being any unfriendly feeling towards Russia on the part of Her Majesty's Government, in all the instructions and private communications I had received from your Lordship, and in all conversations with your Lordship and other members of Her Majesty's Government, the earnest desire had invariably been expressed that a cordial understanding should be established between the two countries.

His Imperial Majesty, when I was taking leave, made use of almost the following words:—

“I am most desirous to come to an understanding with England in Persia. We have no interests in common in Europe. Our common interests lie in Asia. There I desire to live in friendship with her, and to establish an understanding which will enable us to be friends.”

The language of His Imperial Majesty was most kind and considerate during the whole audience, which lasted nearly an hour.—I have, etc., H. DRUMMOND WOLFE.

I was much struck during this conversation by the great personal affection expressed by His Imperial Majesty for the Prince and Princess of Wales. He said that one of his great wishes was to welcome them in Russia, where everything was always prepared for their reception.

The same day I left for Vienna, where I was

entertained by the celebrated Baron de Hirsch, who was much interested in the condition of Jews in Persia, and I undertook, if possible, to ameliorate their position. I also stopped at Buda-Pesth, where Sir Arthur Nicolson was Consul-General, and where I had the satisfaction of again seeing him with Lady Nicolson and his three sons. These were now great boys taking their position in the world. Here I met Mr. Churchill, who accompanied me for the rest of my journey. At Therapia I stayed with Sir William White, leaving for Batoum in the *Imogene*, the small steamer belonging to the British Embassy. I was accompanied by Major White, the head of the Telegraph Service at Tehran, and we were subsequently joined by General—now Sir Thomas—Gordon, who had recently been appointed Oriental and Military Secretary to the Legation, and from whom I received on all occasions the most willing and enlightened assistance.

On arriving at Tehran, I found Mr. Curzon—now Lord Curzon of Kedleston—who was travelling in Persia and writing his well-known book. He came and stayed with me on my return, before visiting other places in the south. Among my other guests were Colonel and Mrs. John Evans. He was very popular in England, and generally known as “the Bashi,” having once served in command of a regiment of Turkish Bashi-Bazouks, though originally an English cavalry officer. Mrs. Bishop also came to Tehran, having ridden up all the way from the south. Her impressions of the

country are recorded in her most interesting book. On arriving at my house, she was so much exhausted that it was difficult to take her into the room allotted to her. Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace also paid me a short visit.

My time was principally occupied in devising some arrangement with Russia. This would naturally involve serious questions concerning not only Turkey, but also Afghanistan. My efforts in this direction were cut short, however, by the illness which forced me to leave Persia permanently ; but my principles have apparently been taken into consideration by Sir Edward Grey.

It seemed to me, when I was in Persia, that nothing could be done at once on a great scale. There were too many points to be considered ; but a friendly arrangement might, I thought, lead little by little to a more complete understanding between Great Britain and Russia. The most obvious factor in such a project seemed to me to be Persia, where the two countries were more or less *limitrophes*. There they had interests in common, and there they might initiate a *rapprochement* instead of perpetuating a policy of tension and mistrust -- the true cause of general uneasiness. Russia and Great Britain have hitherto reciprocally represented the protagonist and antagonist in a drama. Once their differences smoothed away, all the world would feel the benefit.

The object of Russia seemed to be that of access to the Persian Gulf. I considered that object to

be legitimate and praiseworthy, if carried out in a peaceable manner. Nor could I see why England should not give her assistance to such a project.

The most direct road between the Caspian and the Persian Gulf is the one from Enzelli to Mohammerah, the best port on the coast. A railway between those two towns would give greater advantages to Russia than those obtained for the United Kingdom by the opening of the Suez Canal.

In English miles, the journey from London to Bombay, by way of the Cape, is	.	.	9545
By way of the Canal	.	.	7053

Representing a gain of	.	.	2492
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The road from Moscow to Karachi, by			
Odessa and Suez, is	.	.	5306
By Enzelli and Mohammerah	.	.	3330

Representing a gain of	.	.	1976
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The saving by way of Baku to Karachi is even more remarkable. The distance by			
Batoum and the Canal is	.	.	5134
By way of Mohammerah	.	.	2035

Representing a gain of	.	.	3099
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i.e. a saving of 42 miles by land and 3057 by sea.

For commerce, therefore, it was evident that this road would be of great advantage to Russia.

The financial results obtained by the new road from Resht to Kazvin had proved the vast movement between Russia and the capital of Persia. I calculated that the cost of a railway from Enzelli to Mohammerah, with branches to Tehran and Kermanshah, and with harbour-works at the two termini, would amount to about ten millions, or perhaps less. It seemed to me that, with the goodwill and co-operation of Russia and Great Britain, this railway might be constructed at very moderate cost. The service of a loan thus issued would not exceed an annual amount of £350,000. It is not necessary, however, here to enter into the details of my calculations.

At that time I should have proposed the holding of a Convention of the three Powers interested—Great Britain, Russia, and Persia—and that they should arrive at an Agreement containing the following stipulations :—

1. The neutralisation of Persia ;
2. The construction, on certain principles, of a network of railways ;
3. An administrative commission of three members, to be respectively appointed by the three contracting parties ;
4. The construction, in the first place, of the line from Enzelli to Mohammerah ;
5. The institution of certain transit duties, to be devoted to the service of a loan guaranteed by the three Powers ;
6. These duties to be collected at the extremities

of the line, with the concurrence of the Russian and English Consuls.

To my thinking, there had for some time past been symptoms of a change in public opinion. It had begun to be recognised that feelings of conciliation and confidence would be more reasonable and less costly than a constant attitude of watchfulness and precaution. In my opinion a *modus vivendi* would be preferable to a continual *qui vive*.

It was intended that I should take leave towards the end of the year, and that on my way to England I should pass by India, where I was invited by Lord Lansdowne. I must take this opportunity of saying how friendly and cordial was his desire, when Viceroy, to give me every assistance while I was serving in Persia. I was to have been accompanied by General Gordon, and to go by way of Bagdad to the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately I fell very ill in the course of that year, and, instead of visiting India, was obliged to find my way to England as fast as I could, accompanied by Doctor Odling, the most able surgeon to the Telegraph Service. I was accompanied as far as the Caspian by Mr. Churchill, and also by Mr. Townley, Second Secretary of the Legation, who is now Minister at Buenos Ayres. I took leave of the Shah with great regret. He was good enough to allow me to sleep at his palace at Enzelli, and the Government of the Caucasus, in a most obliging manner, placed a steamer at my disposal. I did not stop, as I had wished, at Tiflis, being anxious to arrive at Batoum,

where the steamer of the British Embassy at Constantinople was to meet me. At Tiflis, however, Prince Chervachidzé, whom I had known both at Tiflis and in London, came to see me, having been sent by the Governor to secure me facilities on the railway. I was glad to meet him once more in London recently, when he arrived in the suite of the Dowager Empress.

On my arrival in England, I was ordered first to Hastings; afterwards to the Riviera, Ems, and the Black Forest. It was some time before I recovered sufficient strength to do any work, and then my medical advisers thought it was not desirable for me to return to Persia at all. I have always regretted having passed so short a time in that country, because there was much to be done, and the Persians individually are delightful companions. As Lord Curzon of Kedleston has observed in his book, the manners of the Persians are perfect.

In England, I had often cause to be grateful for his kindness and assistance to Ala-es-Sultane, the late Minister of Persia, who on leaving this country was for a short time Minister of Foreign Affairs. I have also to thank his son, the present charge d'affaires, Mehdi Khan, for many valuable kindnesses. He has recently received the rank of Mochir-ol-Molk. Mehdi Khan's knowledge of our language is very striking, and he has written two or three remarkably able articles in English on Eastern affairs. I made his father's acquaintance

at Tiflis, on my way to Persia, when he entertained me and my whole party at a banquet given to the principal persons in Caucasian society.

I left Persia with the greatest reluctance after all the kindness shown me by the Shah and his Ministers, and wrote to His Majesty expressing my sorrow at being obliged to leave his country. To this the Shah sent me an autograph letter, couched in the most obliging and kindly terms, which added to my great regret at leaving unfinished the work I should so much have liked to complete. The letter ran as follows :—

FROM OUR IMPERIAL PALACE OF TEHRAN,
14th October 1891.

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR — The letter which you wrote to Us, and which was a sure proof of your friendship for Our Person and of your sincere devotion to Our Government, has been transmitted to Us.

We have preserved in our thoughts for ever all that you have written to Us in that letter of your great attachment to Persia and your ardent desire to serve her.

We shall never forget, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, the great and remarkable services that you have rendered to Our Government, and We greatly regret that the state of your health should oblige you not to return to Persia and should prevent your residence in Our capital.

Wherever you may be, rest assured that We shall ever consider you as a most faithful and devoted friend of Our country, and We shall never cease to profit constantly by the counsels which you may wish to give Us.

We pray God, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, to preserve you in His holy keeping.

AL SOLTAN NASSER-OD-DIN SHAH KADJAR.

In the same envelope with this letter was a list,

in the autograph of the Shah, of messages which he desired me to convey to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales and others in London.

Thus ended my connection with Persia and its Sovereign, to my great regret ; but I hope that my exertions for an understanding with Russia have contributed—though perhaps in but a remote and humble way—to the Agreement recently come to between the two Governments. The Plenipotentiaries who signed that Agreement were two old colleagues of mine. One is our present Ambassador at St. Petersburg—Sir Arthur Nicolson. It is said that when a British diplomatist spoke of the new appointment to the Russian Ambassador in London, he said, “*Nous vous envoyons tout ce que nous avons de mieux.*” The Russian Plenipotentiary was M. Isvolzky—my colleague years ago in Eastern Roumelia—whom I have always admired, and whose rapid promotion has justified the confidence of his friends.

CHAPTER LXVIII

Minister in Bucarest—A true prophecy—Crimes in Bulgaria—The King of Roumania—*Corps diplomatique*—Sinaia—The Roumanian race—Their language—Bulgarian—Ancestral features of inhabitants of York—Death of the Duke of Clarence.

MY experience as Minister in Roumania was very short. I arrived in Bucarest at the end of November 1891, having scarcely recovered from my severe illness in Persia, and left it early in January of the following year, on my appointment as Ambassador at Madrid.

What appeared to me a very curious incident happened previously to my going to Roumania. The appointment was one that I did not at all look upon with favour, and I was very much annoyed at being sent there. A lady of my acquaintance, who has the gift of second sight, said to me, "Never mind. I say you will only be there two months; but we will go and see a *clairvoyant* who lives in the north of London." This we accordingly did. The *clairvoyant* was a whitesmith. He took us up to a room above his shop, looked through some books, and, without having had any communication with my friend, said, "You are very much annoyed at having to go to

some place; but you need not be so. You will only be there two months." This appeared very improbable, but turned out to be true.

There were many rumours, when I was in Roumania, with regard to the murder of some leading Bulgarians. The crimes were attributed to various causes. War generally was anticipated, in which the Roumanians intended to remain neutral.

The King struck me—the little I saw of him—as a man of great sagacity, experience, and learning, knowing very thoroughly the details of commercial matters and of political economy. Unfortunately, during my short stay, we had no opportunity of being presented to the Queen, who was absent.

There was really very little for the British Minister to do. England's interest in Roumania was small, for, by the Black Sea Treaty, we could not send ships to that sea, and therefore in no way could we coerce Roumania, except through Turkey. The only Powers that had any control were Russia, through her command of the Black Sea, and Turkey; Germany and Austria, by means of the Danube.

At that time two very remarkable men were Ministers respectively of Austria and Germany. Both have since attained high stations in their own countries. One was Prince Bülow, the German Chancellor; and the other, Count Goluchowski, late President of the Council of Ministers of

Austria-Hungary. The rest of the *corps diplomatique* were excessively amiable and intelligent. M. Fonton, the Russian Minister, was a man well known for his social qualities, as was the Italian Minister. Two very popular members of Bucarest society were the Netherland Minister and his wife, Monsieur and Madame de Wéede. I subsequently had the great satisfaction of seeing them often at Madrid, where he was again my colleague.

The Legation of Austria-Hungary is an enormous building on account of the multifarious relations between that country and Roumania, and the large number of immigrants from one into the other.

I fancy I lost the pleasantest time of the year in Roumania, when the Court and all society goes to Sinaia, which, they say, is a charming summer residence. The Roumanians are a very gay people, and fond of amusement. Socially they are most agreeable, and in everything show their connection with the Latin race, descended, as they are, from an ancient Roman colony.

There is a curious philological feature in that part of the world. There are three countries lying contiguous to each other—Roumania, Bulgaria, and Albania—which speak quite different languages, the Rouman language being that of ancient Rome, Bulgarian that of ancient Russia, and Albanian having no known affinity with any other language, though supposed to be connected with Basque and Hungarian. All three have one peculiarity in

common—that of putting the article at the end of the word. Thus, what in Italian is called “il Romano” is, I think, “Romanul” in Roumanian pronunciation.

Bulgarian, as I mentioned just now, is the old form of Russian. It is said that the influence exercised by Russia is derived from the circulation of religious books written in the old Russian language. These were the only devotional books to which the Bulgarians had access until the alterations which took place in 1878. Previously, the administration of the Orthodox Church in Bulgaria had been in Greek hands, and the religious books circulated were also in Greek, which the Bulgarians did not understand. In this policy the Greeks were supported by the Turkish Government, though it was found during the course of 1878-79, when I was in Eastern Roumelia, that the number of Greeks in the Province was something ridiculously inferior to that of the Slav population. Previously to the Crimean War, the Hospodars of the two Principalities had always been taken from members of the Phanariote families. These formed what may be called the aristocracy of the Greek race.

It is also curious to observe in Roumania the preservation, to a great extent, of ancestral features in the inhabitants. I was once struck by similar conditions in York. On my way to Scotland, I was detained there for two days in the height of summer. In the day-time, the streets

were perfectly empty, but in the evening the whole population turned out, and the town was almost impassable. This habit was one that I had only previously seen in Italy. Later, when travelling, I met a gentleman—I think his name was Mr. Wallace—who seemed to have a great deal of antiquarian knowledge. I told him what I had noticed in York, and he replied, "The reason is that for more than forty years, a Roman legion was quartered there. Since then the inhabitants of York all have Roman noses, while Yorkshiremen are generally inclined to be snub-nosed." With me, he attributed the fact of the streets being crowded during the summer evenings to the same cause.

One event of importance occurred while I was in Roumania—the death of the Duke of Clarence. I had enjoyed many opportunities of seeing His Royal Highness while we were travelling with the Shah, and had been much struck by his unassuming and kindly nature. The Commemoration Service on the day of his funeral was the only diplomatic ceremony in which I was concerned while at Bucarest. It was attended by the Roumanian Court and the *corps diplomatique*.

CHAPTER LXIX

Ambassador at Madrid—Spanish Tariff Law—Protection and Free Trade—Journey to Spain—British Embassy staff—The *corps diplomatique*—The Queen Regent—My first audience—The Queen's Speech—Celebration in honour of Christopher Columbus.

ON January 22, 1892, Lord Salisbury officially offered me the appointment of Ambassador at Madrid. I was glad to accept this, for—as has already been seen—I had always had an interest in Spain; and, though sorry to be removed from Eastern politics, I was pleased to have a wider sphere of action than Roumania.

I was instructed to arrive at Madrid as soon as possible after the 2nd of February, when Sir Clare Ford was to leave. He was engaged in negotiating a Commercial Treaty, and I was required to take up the threads of his work.

The Spaniards had recently passed a law which, to put it shortly, contained two tariffs—a maximum and a minimum. The former was to be given to states which charged Spain with high duties, while the minimum was to be granted to those countries which would give their minimum in exchange. The position of England was some-

what anomalous, as she had only one tariff; but that one tariff was of a comparatively easy nature. Fortunately, the policy pursued by this country in commercial matters proved its own value; for, after some negotiation, the Spanish Government agreed to give us their minimum tariff in exchange for our solitary tariff, on the ground of the moderation of our charges.

This point has always been a matter of consideration in my mind with regard to the relative merits of Protection and Free Trade—on which I do not intend at present to enter. I may express my conviction, however, that everything in politics—whatever line they may take—depends on the increase of the population. Whig or Tory, Radical or Conservative, can only base their calculations on this one consideration—the influx of babies. This causes an increase in the price of food; and, as babies augment in such large numbers, so will the means of obtaining food always be the first consideration of political argument. It is babies who make corners and trusts. It is they who will require a change in the laws of property. It is they who will do away with nobiliary distinctions. Every baby born thinks himself equal to the baby next door, and it is they who are initiating the Socialistic movement.

I left London for Madrid, accompanied by my family, by Mr. Nevill, who had been with me in Persia, and by Sir William Barrington, the First Secretary of Embassy. In Paris we were joined

by Miss Sopwith, a young lady of great attractions, whose father was one of the principal owners of the Linares lead mines. Her sister had married the American Minister at Madrid—General Burd Grubbe.

The staff of the British Embassy consisted of Sir William Barrington, of Mr. Welby, who was subsequently appointed to Buenos Ayres, and of Mr. Carnegie, who left Madrid shortly afterwards, and is now, I believe, Councillor of Embassy at Peking. Sir William Barrington was named one of the delegates to negotiate, jointly with me, the Commercial Treaty. The other British delegate was Sir Joseph Crowe, whose name is closely connected with the commercial policy of England.

In Madrid I found some old acquaintances. The German Ambassador was Baron Stumm, whom I had known very well elsewhere; but he was subsequently replaced by M. de Radowitz, whose name appears in former pages as having rendered me most valuable services at Constantinople. Count Dubsky was the Austrian Ambassador, a man of long experience, and a most agreeable companion. He had been a great deal in the East. With him was a very bright and intelligent daughter. The Belgian Minister—M. Forgeur—was another old friend of mine. I had known him first in Belgium, and afterwards at Constantinople. The United States Minister—as mentioned just now—was General Burd

Grubbe. He was succeeded by Mr. Hannis Taylor—a gentleman of great literary and legal knowledge, who had written a book on the English Constitution which is a text-book in certain American Universities. I think that he was succeeded by General Snowden, and later by General Woodford. After the war Mr. Bellamy Storer became Minister.

The Minister for Sweden and Norway was Baron Wedel-Jarlsberg—a Norwegian of great distinction. He was related to Count Wedel, Master of the Horse to the Emperor of Germany. The Baron is now, I believe, Norwegian Minister to Paris. The Italian Ambassador was my old friend, the Marquis Maffei, who was succeeded by M. de Renzis. The Russian Minister was Prince Gortchakoff, son of the Chancellor, afterwards succeeded by M. de Schéwitz, with the rank of Ambassador. He had been in Japan, was a most amusing man, and had a great knowledge of bric-à-brac. His wife was extremely agreeable, and his daughter an artist of very considerable talent. I never knew any three people so well versed in the works of Dickens as was this Russian family. They could repeat pages almost by heart, and every evening—when not otherwise engaged—their amusement used to be to read his books aloud.

One day at dinner at the Russian Embassy, some one mentioned a population as being particularly ugly. Another guest remarked that they all had black blood in them. A Spaniard then said

that his countrymen were supposed to have Arab blood in their veins; whereupon it was remarked, "*Mais le sang arabe vaut mieux que le sang nègre.*" M. Schéwitz rejoined, "*Sans doute; il y a des chevaux arabes, mais il n'y a pas de chevaux nègres.*"

Not long after my arrival at Madrid, Turkan Effendi, the Turkish Minister, was promoted, and was succeeded by Feridoun Bey, now dead, poor man. He seemed to be very much behind the scenes in all the different combinations that ruled in Turkey, being closely connected with the old ruling clique of the Reschid Pasha school. His mother was sister to the wife of Fuad Pasha, and his father was Introducer of Ambassadors. He was a typical combination of Eastern shrewdness and *naïveté*, and the stories about him were most amusing.

Feridoun Pasha was rather economical in his habits. One summer, when he was staying at San Sebastian at the same time as ourselves, he suffered a misfortune for which he asked every one's sympathy. He had bought a new suit of clothes—pearl-grey—but elected one day to sit on a chair on which the paint was still fresh, and his beautiful costume was covered with broad lines of chocolate paint. To every one he said: "*Vous vous souvenez de ce beau complet que j'ai acheté à Madrid? Gris perle? Il m'a coûté cent soixante-quinze francs. L'autre jour je me suis assis sur la peinture fraîche d'une chaise, et mon*

pauvre costume est tout couvert de lignes couleur chocolat !”

I never knew whether his answers and observations were cynical or merely naïve. On one occasion he accompanied the French Ambassador to Zaraus—a common excursion—to visit another diplomatist and his wife who had taken a house there. The lady was of rather an austere character. When Feridoun Pasha left, she said : “ *C'est bien aimable de votre part d'être venu nous faire une visite avec l'Ambassadeur.*” The Pasha replied with great simplicity : “ *Oui, madame, une corvée est plus facile à deux !*”

A gentleman of very high rank used to come to San Sebastian in the summer. He was a great pianist, and one day was good enough to play at our house. Feridoun thought it necessary to compliment him, and remarked, “ *Vous aimez beaucoup la musique ?*” The reply was : “ *Oui, monsieur, je l'aime beaucoup ; mais ce que j'aime le plus au monde, ce sont les voyages. L'année prochaine j'ai l'intention de faire un voyage au pôle nord.*” Feridoun inquired, “ *Pour donner un concert ?*”

I fear that all I say about my mission to Spain—which lasted for nearly nine years—must be entirely superficial, as enough time has not yet passed to render it fitting for me to speak in detail. All the circumstances connected with my stay there are still too fresh in every one's memory, and, in fact, are not yet entirely concluded. The

time of my sojourn was marked by several occurrences of an indelible description—the war with Morocco, the war with the United States, and the loss of the South American and Eastern Colonies, as well as a complete alteration of the Mediterranean understanding, which, to a certain extent, changed the balance of power in Europe.

Spain, at that time, was under the direction of one of the wisest women who ever filled a throne—the Queen Regent Maria Christina. Her devotion to duty and to the education of her infant son can scarcely be described, so perfectly did she meet the exigencies of a peculiar and unique situation. Her Majesty played her part with calmness and tact. By her advocacy of Spanish interests—and even of Spanish foibles—she had overcome the prejudice which exists in Spain against those of foreign extraction. The Queen owed much to the steady loyalty of the Infanta Isabella, who seems to have devoted her life and fortune to the welfare of her sister-in-law and of her nephew and nieces. Notwithstanding this, there were many hostile currents which, but for the delicacy of touch shown by Her Majesty, might have overwhelmed the dynasty, and perhaps even monarchical institutions, in the event of any grave reverse. The Carlists and Republicans were a standing danger.

On the 28th of March I was received by the Queen in order to deliver my letters of credence.

The reception of a new Ambassador in Spain is marked with great pomp and solemnity. All the carriages and almost all the horses belonging to the Crown are made use of on such an occasion. Each carriage and each saddle-horse sent for the Ambassador and his suite is accompanied by a spare one, to be used in case of any accident happening to the first. The carriage in which I myself went to the Palace was very beautiful, dating from the time of King Joseph Bonaparte. I believe that it was a gift from Napoleon. It was made of *vernis Martin*.

On arriving at the Palace, the new Ambassador is received in the courtyard by detachments from all the regiments in the garrison. The staircase is lined by halberdiers, who, to a certain extent, represent our Beefeaters. Different sets of Court functionaries receive him at each separate landing, until he arrives at the one leading into the Audience Chamber, where he is received by the *grandees* of Spain.

I was accompanied by my staff and by Señor Zarco del Valle, the Introducer of Ambassadors, who performed his functions with great tact and zeal, and kept foreign representatives in the somewhat complicated grooves of Spanish etiquette. In the great saloon upstairs the Queen was seated on a throne. On her right was the young King on a similar throne. He was then, I think, about six years old. The great reception room was filled with Court functionaries and the *grandees* of Spain. I

made the following speech in French to the Queen Regent :—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, in deigning to accredit me as Her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Your Majesty, has charged me to express to Your Majesty her constant and sincere desire of maintaining and confirming the bonds of friendship and good understanding which subsist between her people and the noble nation over whose destinies Your Majesty presides with such worthy and enlightened care.

Her Majesty seizes every opportunity of transmitting to Your Majesty the assurance of the lively interest which she takes in the happiness of Your Majesty, in the future of His Majesty the King, your son, and in the welfare of the Royal Family of Spain.

In thus presenting the wishes of my august Sovereign, I venture to express the hope that the good relations between the two countries—based, as in the past, on mutual esteem and respect, and inspired with the desire of ensuring the triumph of peace and general tranquillity—will henceforward be developed, consolidated, and perpetuated on the grounds of perfect sympathy and the most frank and cordial co-operation.

The Queen Regent answered me as follows :—

SIR—In receiving from your hands the letter of Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India, which accredits you as Her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, I wish to express the great pleasure which it has given me to hear of the sympathetic sentiments which inspire Her Majesty with regard to the King, my own happiness, and that of my family.

I beg you to transmit to Her Royal and Imperial Majesty the assurance that I fully reciprocate her feelings, and that I fervently pray to God for the happiness of the Queen, for

that of Her Royal Family, and for the prosperity of the great nation over which she rules with so much prudence.

Everything which tends to strengthen the friendly relations and to draw closer the bonds which happily unite both countries will be, as always, the object of my sincerest wishes and of my special attention, and you may rest assured that for this purpose you may henceforth count upon my support and on the co-operation of my Government.

After the Queen Regent had read her reply, she descended from the throne, and I had the honour of a conversation with Her Majesty. I was charged with the most friendly messages for the Queen and the Prince of Wales, and I then presented the members of the Embassy and the Commercial Delegates.

The first public ceremony that I attended in Madrid was the *fête* given in honour of the fourth centenary of the discovery of America. The ceremonies were very splendid, and were celebrated not only in Spain, but also in Italy and in the United States. It was curious that this anniversary should have anticipated within so short a time the loss of all that Spain had preserved of the discoveries of Columbus. An Exhibition was held at Madrid of works of art of different kinds that existed at the time of Columbus's departure. Amongst many interesting exhibits was a copy of a *carabel*—the facsimile of the galley used by Christopher Columbus. I believe that a complete *carabel* was navigated to America under the command of an officer of the United States navy.

CHAPTER LXX

Spanish statesmen—Madrid society—English visitors—Commercial Convention—Señor Moret—Russian fleet at Toulon—Cuban insurrection—Spanish prospects—The Queen Regent—The British Embassy—English friends—Lord Rosebery's visit—Good-bye to Spain.

THE Spanish Prime Minister was Don Antonio Canovas del Castillo—a very remarkable man, born at Malaga, who at the age of eighteen started a newspaper called *Young Malaga*. He also produced many other literary works, principally devoted to Spanish history. During the interregnum between the reign of King Amadeo and the provisional government of Serrano, Señor Canovas endeavoured to bring about the restoration of Queen Isabella's son—Don Alfonso.

About that time there was a financier in Spain called Salamanca, who had made himself a European reputation. When King Alfonso came to Spain, he asked Señor Canovas whether the people of Malaga were not endowed with exceptional talent. He replied, "So much so that Salamanca and I were forbidden to live in the town, as we were not supposed to come up to the standard of intelligence required in Malaga."

Señor Canovas had married one of two remark-

able sisters. After his death, his wife was created Duchess of Canovas. Her sister had married Count Casa Valencia, so long Ambassador in England, and the representative of the statesman-like family of Alcala de Galiano.

Some years after my arrival at Madrid, in August 1897, Señor Canovas was assassinated at the baths of Santa Agueda by an Italian anarchist called Angiolillo, *alias* Golli. Very few days before the murder I had gone to the station at San Sebastian to see the Premier off. A curious incident occurred at the execution of the assassin, who was said to have been closely connected with various anarchist societies. In Spain executions take place on the top of the prison wall, which is made broad for the purpose. Opposite the wall of the prison of Vergara—where Golli was garrotted—was a steep hill, on which three men placed themselves in a row just when the executioner and victim came up the ladder. On arriving at the top of the wall Golli asked if he might address a few words to his friends. The executioner assented, provided that no allusion was made to political matters. Meanwhile, each of the three men opposite had raised his right hand, parting the fingers as widely as possible. The doomed man went as near as he could to the edge of the wall, and uttered the one word “Germinal!” He then placed himself in the chair to be garrotted.

I knew very well Señor Emilio Castelar, the

celebrated Republican leader. He had begun his career as Professor of History and Philosophy at Madrid, and became famous as an orator and writer. In 1866 he had been condemned to death for joining in the Revolutionary movement, but he escaped, and two years later returned to Spain. When King Amadeo abdicated, Señor Castelar became the responsible Republican leader, and was President in 1873. Under his rule the Republic lost many of its terrors, for he was neither a faddist nor a fanatic. The following year, however, his Government was defeated, and eventually Alfonso XII. was proclaimed King. Under the guidance of Señor Castelar the Republicans became a normal Parliamentary Party, and until 1893, when he retired, he often spoke in the Cortes with all his old fire and eloquence. The Señor wrote a great deal on political and historical matters, and was well known as a poet.

There were many other eminent men among the statesmen of Spain. One was Señor Silvela, a very popular man, who had married the daughter of an American gentleman, created Marquis of Casa Loring. Señor Silvela was a great friend of the Austrian Ambassador, at whose house I first made his acquaintance. He was the leader of the Moderate Conservative Party. Both he and his wife were greatly beloved by their friends.

Another celebrated Prime Minister was Señor Sagasta, whose career is already so famous that it

is useless for me to enter into any details—if, indeed; it were in place here to do so.

The typical Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Liberal Party was the Marquis Vega de Armijo. It would be hopeless, however, in such space as I can devote to the subject, to analyse or even chronicle the various vicissitudes of Spanish political life which occurred during my nine years' residence in the country. I must not, however, omit the name of the Duke of Tetuan, another remarkable statesman. His name was O'Donnell, and he was a nephew of the celebrated Marshal O'Donnell, of Irish extraction. He himself was a general and a man of great ability, though perhaps a little testy in temper. On one occasion he is said to have boxed the ears of an Opposition deputy in the lobby of the Cortes.

Among the first houses of Madrid, perhaps the foremost was that of the Duke of Alba, who was descended from James II. His title of Duke of Berwick had been recognised, and still existed in Spain. He was married to a most remarkable woman of great ability—and even of learning—who possessed irresistible charm. She had placed in order a wonderful collection of archives and treasures, principally belonging to the Alba and Berwick families. My wife made a valuable addition to the Duchess' treasures in a lock of hair of Napoleon I., given to her in her early youth by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte. Unhappily, the Duchess of Alba is one of those who have passed

away at an early age, and the Duke has been succeeded by his son, who, in my time, gave much promise for the future.

Another great lady who entertained largely was the Duchess of Bailen, who, with her brother, owned a great portion of the town of San Sebastian, which has for some years been rapidly developing into a watering-place equal to those of other continental countries. On one occasion the Duchess entertained at her house, called Ayete, the late Queen Victoria, who had come from Biarritz to meet the Queen Regent.

Amongst the ladies of whom we saw a great deal at Madrid was the Duchess of Infantado, a most attractive and accomplished woman. With her three daughters she was always warmly welcomed. Two other distinguished members of society were the Duke of Medina Sidonia—a descendant of the great Admiral of that name—and the Duke of Sotomayor, who was practically the head of the Court. He exercised a very great influence, partly by his perfect knowledge of foreign languages.

I was much grieved, during my stay in Madrid, by the loss of an old friend of mine—Marquis Casa La Iglesia—who had so long been the representative of Spain in London, where he was a universal favourite.

Another friend of mine—Señor Riaño—was a celebrated literary man. I had known his wife as a little girl; for, as has already been seen, I had

been made welcome in 1850 at the country-house of her father, Don Pascual de Gayangos. Madame Riaño was a woman of remarkable acquirements.

The Duke and Duchess of Almodovar del Rio held a great position in Spain. He spoke English perfectly. The family fortune had been made at Xeres by the production of sherry. The Duke derived his title from his wife — there being two dukedoms of the name, one called Almodovar del Valle, and the other Almodovar del Rio. He took considerable part in politics, though he was a moderate partisan. At one time he was Minister for Foreign Affairs.

The Duke and Duchess of Mandas are well known in England, as he was for some time Ambassador in London. They have a large property at San Sebastian. The Duke also obtained his title by marriage, the Duchess of Mandas having succeeded to one of the dukedoms of the Duke of Osuna. She was the daughter of an Austrian Ambassador who had married a cousin of the Duke. The present Duke of Osuna is of another branch.

Amongst other English travellers who visited Spain while I was there were the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire, Consuelo Duchess of Manchester, and Lady Lister-Kaye, Mr. and Lady Fanny Marjoribanks, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur James. Lord and Lady Spencer, Lady Ashburton, Lord Stanmore, Lord and Lady Wantage, Lord Acton,

Lady Colville, and Miss Warrender, were also visitors to Madrid about that time. Sir Edward Poynter came in 1899 to celebrate the Tercentenary of Velasquez, when the Spanish master's pictures were redistributed in the Museum at Madrid.

Mr. and Mrs. Kerr Lawson came to Madrid, bringing letters from our old friend Mr. G. F. Watts, the Academician. Mr. Lawson had a particular liking for the work of Greco, an artist who had established himself in Spain at the invitation of Charles V., and whose pictures therefore partook of Spanish characteristics. The artist himself was a Greek of the name of Theotokopolis, and a follower of Titian, whom Charles V. was never able to induce to come to Madrid. Mr. Kerr Lawson bought a "Nativity," by Greco, for £1200, on behalf of a Scotch friend, at whose death it was sold in Glasgow. In that city there seems to have been but little appreciation of the master, for the picture was knocked down for £400. It was bought by a French dealer, and, after changing hands several times, was eventually acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York for £7000. The Louvre has also some specimens of Greco's productions. Thus, to a great extent, Mr. Kerr Lawson is responsible for the rehabilitation of a master whose work appeals particularly to painters, and whose pictures are now among those appreciated by collectors.

An English lady who played a considerable part at the Spanish Court, acting with the greatest

discretion and charm, was Miss Etta Hughes, the governess of the Princesses. Now, I believe, she resides with the widow of the Ex-Khedive Tewfik.

My first especial work was the negotiation of the Commercial Convention to which I have already alluded. It was signed on July 18, 1893, by myself and Señor Moret, who by that time had succeeded the Duke of Tetuan as Minister of Foreign Affairs. The English Government had already changed, and I was glad to find myself once more in official communication with Lord Rosebery.

I had known Señor Moret well when he was Minister in England for King Amadeo. As I refrain from making any comment on politicians now living, I fear that I can say but little about him, save to express my admiration for his ability and great resource.

An incident that created much excitement in 1893 was the visit of the Russian Fleet to Toulon. It was thought by many to be a demonstration against the Triple Alliance, and the Spaniards were alarmed lest their country should be the sufferer. If the visit had been intended merely as a return compliment for that of the French Fleet to Cronstadt, it was considered out of place in the Mediterranean. *Fêtes* were to be given at Cadiz to the Russian Squadron by the Governor and local authorities. The Spanish Fleet, however, was not sent to Cadiz from Cartagena, as the visit of the Russians to the

Mediterranean was only incidental to the courtesy paid to France, though the Spanish Government intended to receive the Russian Fleet with the usual demonstrations if it should call at Cartagena. An idea had got abroad that Russia intended to keep a permanent naval force in the Mediterranean. There were rumours that a naval station had been conceded by France to the Russian Government.

Spain had been very careful to avoid making alliances, thinking it her best policy to keep on terms with all countries. Now, however, the visit of the Russian Fleet to Toulon brought the whole question of the Straits of Gibraltar very prominently forward, together with the part to be played by Spain in any European movement. Many political considerations were involved, which were eagerly taken hold of by the public and the press, and created a great sensation.

The times were very troublous. There was war in Morocco, and shortly afterwards the Cuban insurrection broke out. Both these events were dangerous—not only to Spain but to the dynasty. I may say, perhaps, that all the representatives of foreign countries at Madrid sought for the best means of securing the success of the Queen Regent. Her attitude was all that was dignified, courageous, and wise, and her one wish was to keep intact the sovereignty of her son. To ourselves nothing could exceed her kindness and consideration. On the occasion of Queen



KING AND QUEEN-REGENT OF SPAIN.

Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, the Queen Regent paid a personal visit to the Embassy—which had never been done before.

The difficulties caused by the disagreement with America were incalculable. The United States declared—and their subsequent conduct verified their declaration—that they did not seek to annex Cuba, which an American gentleman described to me as “the richest slice of earth,” nor to establish a Protectorate over the island. The first alternative, they considered, would disturb the voting balance of the United States, and the latter would entail endless care and responsibility. The Americans were desirous that Spain should settle the war in a manner just and honourable to herself, while securing to Cuba peace and prosperity. It was pointed out that the yellow fever in the United States came principally from Cuba, where the bad sanitation of the harbours generated that disease. The Americans were much interested in Cuban sugar, which they considered as vital to America as the wheat and cotton of India and Egypt are to Great Britain. They had also invested large sums in Cuban tobacco plantations, as well as in iron and lead mines and railways; but for many years those plantations, mines, and railways had been useless, having been destroyed both by the authorities and by the insurgents. Security for American loans was thus greatly impaired. Their grievances, in fact, were innumerable; but still the United States declared

that they would be satisfied by the establishment of a form of government in Cuba such as that enjoyed by Canada under British rule.

In Spain, unfortunately, the acceptance of party office often paralyses Ministerial energy, and even with an army of 130,000 men, and an expenditure of a million a month, but little progress was made in crushing out the insurrection by force. These difficulties were enhanced by financial straits and by the interference of the United States Legislature. The obvious solution of the difficulty was the concession of liberties sufficient to satisfy the Cuban people. This, as has been said, was the aim of the United States Government; but the Spanish Government dreaded any spontaneous action. A majority of the Spanish people clung to the retention of their direct hold over the island, and the Ministers, whatever their party, found themselves in the dilemma of either losing the island for want of due concessions or of enduring the opprobrium of granting them, apparently under pressure from the United States. Had the position menaced only the prosperity of Spain, other countries might have looked on with indifference; but here came the great difficulty: the loss of Cuba might entail the subversion of the dynasty and the establishment of a Republic. At the previous General Election,¹ the Republican sections had combined not to seek Parliamentary seats, and this was interpreted as a prelude to vigorous action.

Spain's difficulties were great. The fact that, notwithstanding the loss of her colonies, the present dynasty remains unshaken is entirely due to the Queen Regent, who struggled almost unaided at this trying crisis. When we left Spain, the feeling of loyalty towards Her Majesty was very much on the increase. That loyalty has been extended to her son. Perhaps Spain may prosper, as England prospered notwithstanding the loss of America. She has vast internal resources in her mines and forests, and the country is gradually developing as a great health resort. The railway from Bobadilla to Algeciras—under its able and energetic chairman, Mr. White Todd—has opened out a district well fitted for this purpose. The whole of the Bay of Algeciras, from that town to Gibraltar, will probably soon become a country of villas for winter resorts—a great Riviera.

I feel myself under particular obligations to the Queen Regent for her great kindness during the last years of my stay in Spain. England was popularly supposed not to have sufficiently supported that country in the contest with the United States. Though I never experienced any act of discourtesy or unfriendliness, I felt that there was a tone of coldness which had not existed before. At this time, therefore, the good-will of Her Majesty was of especial value. My wife was given the Order of the Damas Nobles de Maria Luisa. This the Queen conferred a year

or two before the war, and my wife received permission to accept the Order. One was offered to me on my departure; but the acceptance of foreign Orders by British subjects was not so general then as it has since become.

I was very fortunate, during my stay at Madrid, with my Embassy Staff. Sir William Barrington was succeeded as First Secretary by Sir Martin Gosselin — whose early death saddened many friends. Mr. Adam, with his wife, was of the greatest support and assistance to us. Mr. Beaumont was also a most useful public servant. So was Mr. Percy Wyndham, for whom I shall always feel sincere regard, and from whom I parted with great regret. I must also mention Mr. Fairfax Cartwright—the son of an old friend, and an old friend himself, having been with me in Persia. He was a man of remarkable gifts and literary acquirements, and has recently been promoted to be Minister Resident at Munich and Stuttgart. Nor should I omit the name of a colleague who was to me of inestimable value Mr. George Barclay. During the period preceding the American War, he was for some months *chargé d'affaires* in Spain, and won the approval of our Government for his great efficiency. He was decorated very early, and received grants both for his knowledge of Turkish and of Japanese. Mr. Barclay is now Councillor of Embassy at Constantinople, and will no doubt maintain the brilliancy of his career.

This list would not be complete without the name of Mr. Darell Crackanthorpe. He was a young man of great ability, and married at Madrid a daughter of the well-known American General Sickles, her mother being a Spaniard. Mr. Darell Crackanthorpe is the son of Mr. Montagu Crackanthorpe, K.C., and his wife, whom I look upon as among my best and most interesting friends. I should also emphatically mention the great assistance I received from Mr. Herbert Broadley Harrison, the Commercial Attaché. He was very popular in Spanish society, most able, and excessively obliging. Mr. Harrison had long been employed in South America, and had a complete knowledge of the Spanish language. Unfortunately for himself, his ability attracted the commendation of the Foreign Office, and he was once more appointed to a post of considerable importance in South America, where—I was much grieved to learn—he died in 1905. He was nearly connected with Mr. Harrison Broadley, who was for a long time Member of Parliament for one of the divisions of Yorkshire.

Among others who visited Spain during the time that I was at Madrid were Lord Zouche and his sister, Miss Darea Curzon, Mr. Evelyn Cecil and Sir John M'Neill, who had been with me in attendance on the Shah in England. Another visitor was Lord Rosebery. He was well acquainted with the country, and excited a great deal of interest, as he arrived shortly

after the defeat of his Government. A great Spanish lady said to me concerning him, "*N'est-ce pas qu'il a l'air très jeune pour avoir été Lor' Maire ?*"

And so, good-bye to Spain.

INDEX

- Aali Pacha, ii. 4, 13, 27 ; an argument from analogy, 17
- Aarifi Pasha, appointed as Egyptian Commissioner, ii. 284
- Abbas Khan, position of, in Persia, ii. 330
- Abdul-Aziz, Sultan, ii. 300
- Abdul Hamid, Sultan, letters to and from, ii. 245 ; author's audience with, on the Egyptian Question, 278-9 ; position of, on Egypt, as affecting British position, 280 ; wishes of, as to Turkish troops in Egypt, 281, 282 ; author's audience of, after conclusion of Anglo-Turkish Convention on Egypt, 289 ; decoration conferred on Lady Drummond Wolff, 290 ; author's interview with—a decoration declined, 230 ; hard work and nervousness of, 307-8 ; and the Ulterior Convention, 313, author's audience on, 313-15 ; views of the Sultan stated, 314-15
- Aberdeen, Earl of, i. 54, 104, 206, 233
- Aberdeen, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 362
- Abro Effendi, ii. 200
- Acton, Lord (the late), in Spain, ii. 359
- Adair, Sir Robert, i. 50, 52, 53
- Adam, Mr. and Mrs., at Embassy, Madrid, ii. 406
- Adam, Sir Frederick, in Corfu, i. 330
- Addington, Mr., i. 48, 56
- Addison, Colonel, i. 30-31
- Addison, Judge, i. 31
- Adelaide, Queen, i. 53
- Adelphi Theatre memories, i. 36-7
- Adrianople, Turkish refugees sent to, ii. 217-18, 223
- Adye, Sir John, and the Shah at Elswick, ii. 363
- Afghanistan, wars in, effect of, in Europe, ii. 225, 266 ; letter on, from Lord Lytton, i. 186-8
- Agapemone, the, and its founder, i. 109
- Agen, Bishop of, story about, i. 199
- Agincourt*, H.M.S., life of, ii. 364
- Ahmed Vefyk, Pasha, ii. 149
- Ahwaz, Dyke at, limit of Karun River open navigation, ii. 344
- Aimable, M., ii. 241
- Ain, river, i. 130
- Ainsworth, Mr. W. F., on the Karun River and British Trade, ii. 343
- Aix-la-Chapelle, i. 32
- Ala-es-Sultane, Persian Minister, London, kindness of, ii. 376-7
- Alba, Duchess of, i. 137, aunt of the Empress Eugenie, 232 ; abilities and charm of, collection of, ii. 397 ; early death of, 398
- Alba, Duke of, ancestry of, ii. 397 ; names and other titles of, i. 136-7

410 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Albania, Lord Seymour in, i. 364
- Albanian language, ii. 381
- Albert, Prince, *see* Prince Consort
- Albury, seat of Mr. Henry Drummond, i. 15, 33
- Alcala de Galiano family, ii. 395
- Alcala de Galiano, Señor, writer and politician, i. 135
- Alderson, Baron, i. 72
- Aleko Pasha (Prince Vogorides), appointed Governor of Eastern Roumelia, ii. 230, 283; family connections, *ib.*; partisans of, further the Union, 284
- Alexander the Great, legendary history of, i. 297
- Alexander II., Czar, at Moscow, ii. 22-3; at seat of Franco-Prussian War, 93; personal affection of other sovereigns for, 163-4; Russo-Rouman Treaty of, 181; Proclamations of, to Eastern Roumelia and to Sophia, 227; firm on the Treaty of Berlin, 240-41
- Alexander III., Czar, author's audience with, at Berlin, on Anglo-Russian interests in Persia, ii. 368 *et seq.*; affection expressed by, for (the then) Prince and Princess of Wales, 368, 370
- Alexandria, doings at, in 1886, ii. 306 *et seq.*
- Alfonso XII. of Spain, ii. 394, 396
- Alfonso XIII. of Spain, author's first sight of, ii. 391; loyalty felt towards, 405
- Alfred, Prince, *see* Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, Duke of
- Alfred Club, the, i. 111; members of, 86; why ruined, 88-9; merged in the Oriental, ii. 36
- Algeciras, Bay of, as a winter resort, ii. 405
- Alington, Lord, ii. 28
- Almodovar del Rio, Duke and Duchess of, high station, and source of wealth of, ii. 399
- Alston, Mr. Rowland, i. 59
- Alston, Sir Francis, i. 59
- Alvanley, Lord, anecdotes of, i. 365, ii. 33
- Amadeo, King of Spain, ii. 394, 396, 401
- Amateur Clubs and Actors*, i. 68
- Ambassadors, a sermon on, i. 183
- Ambulances, English and other. Franco-Prussian War. ii. 79, 81, 82
- Amelia Wyndham*, by Mrs. Marsh. i. 96
- America, admiration in, of Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. i. 267; discovery of, Spanish fête and Exhibition in honour of fourth centenary of, ii. 393; Spanish war with, 387, 389, 402, 403-4, 405
- American "tall-talk," i. 32-3
- Americans, stories of, i. 268-9
- Amin-ed-Dowleh, the, rival of the late Amin-es-Sultan. ii. 329-30
- Amin-es-Sultan, the, *see* Mirza Ali Asgar Khan
- Ancona, disturbances at, i. 166-7
- Andover, Viscount, i. 162
- Andrassy, Count, cartoon of, ii. 166; famous reply of, 194; Gager's opinion of, 162, 163; political attitude of, 1873, 159-62; views of, on Turco-Austrian crisis, 171-6
- Angerstein, Miss, i. 51
- Anglo-Russian Agreement, ii. 347, Plenipotentiaries signing 378
- Anglo-Russian entente as to Persia, efforts to secure, ii. 357 *et seq.*, 347, 367, 368 *et seq.*, author's own efforts, and views, 372 *et seq.*, some important side issues, 372
- Animal sacrifice, Persia, relic of, ii. 345
- Ansted, Prof., work of, on geology of Ionian Islands, i. 364
- Austey, Mr., Rugby master, i. 19
- Austey, Mr. Chisholm, i. 113, 114

- Antonelli, Cardinal, suppressed despatch of, i. 342-6
- Antoniades, M., father of Madame Musurus, ii. 306
- Apponyi, Count Albert, ii. 202, views of, on the Eastern Question, 187; in praise of Salisbury and Beaconsfield, 188
- Arab party, the, dread of Turks in Egypt, ii. 282, 291
- Arabi Pasha, insurrection of, letter of author on, to Mr. Gladstone, ii. 266-8, reply, 268, author's answer, 265-9; native attitude to, Mr. Moberly Bell on, 297
- Aranguéz, i. 135
- Ardennes, cheap walking tours in, i. 29, and travelling, ii. 75
- Aristarchi, Princess, of Samos (*née* Pitzipios), ii. 19
- Arlens, Chevalier d', a melancholy figure, i. 154-5
- Armenia, English valuation of, ii. 154
- Armenian sects, ii. 14, 15
- Armour, a novel use for, i. 45
- Armstrong, Lord (the late), visit to, of the Shah, ii. 362
- Armstrong, Lord (the present), and his wife (*née* Adye), ii. 363
- Arnim, Count, and the Madiai case, i. 171
- Arnold, Dr., famous head of Rugby, i. 18, and Mr. Sale, 21
- Arnold, Mr. Arthur, M.P. and traveller, ii. 112-13; anecdotes of, 112, 113
- Arnold, Mr. Matthew, i. 22; letter from, to author, 23-4
- Arrol, Mr., and the Shah, ii. 362
- Ashburton, Lady, in Spain, ii. 399
- Ashley, Hon. Evelyn, i. 15; *Life of Palmerston* by, ii. 39, cited on the Eglinton clause, i. 164; and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Askabad Railway, Lord Salisbury on, ii. 269
- Aspromonte, Garibaldi at, i. 338
- Assim Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Plenipotentiary at time of author's Special Mission to Turkey, ii. 199, 278; previous acquaintance with, 279
- Assouan, British troops south of, withdrawn, ii. 305
- Astley, Mr. Delaval, i. 86
- Astronomy and Mathematics, Moukhtar Pasha's work on, ii. 300-1
- Asturias, Prince of (1850), funeral of, i. 137
- Atabeg-Azam, title of the late Amin-es-Sultan, ii. 328
- Athenæum Club, Hayward's dinners at, ii. 29, and whist at, 30; memories of members, 28 *et seq.*
- Aubigné, M. Merle d', i. 13
- Augusta, Queen of Prussia, afterwards German Empress, i. 24
- Aumale, Duc d', i. 23
- Australian natives and colonists, stories of, i. 205-7
- Austria, attitude of, to formation of Roumania, i. 180; attitude of, to Montenegro, 363; and the Eastern Question in 1878, Breda and others on, ii. 158 *et seq.*; feared by the Slavs, 239; International Congress proposed by (1878), 147; occupation by, of Bosnia and Herzegovina, 194, previous attitude in Austria towards, 163, 166, 172, 185, 187, 191; of Tuscany, i. 145, 162-3; special Peace mission to, of Lord John Russell, 230
- Austria, Empress of (the late), at Corfu, i. 357
- Austrian Ultramontanes, Slav sympathies of, ii. 159-60
- Author, ancestress of, ii. 44 *et seq.*; Boscombe estate of, 102; at Colonial Office, private secretary to Sir E. Lytton, i. 262
- Autonomy for protectorates, ii. 174

412 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Ayrton, Mr., educational work of, in Egypt, ii. 279
- Azeglio, Marquis d', and his famous uncle, i. 210-11
- Azhar, El, the principal Sheikh of, ii. 296
- "Aziz," title desired by Ismail Pasha, ii. 293
- Babbage, Mr., calculating machine of, i. 336
- Babies and budgets, ii. 385
- Bacconi, M., Ionian statesman, i. 371
- Backhouse, Mr. George Canning, i. 58
- Baden, gaming tables of, ii. 89
- Bagot, Sir Charles, i. 53, 54
- Bahamas, Governorship of, i. 24
- Bailen, Duchess of, a noted hostess, her greatest guest, ii. 398
- Baillon, Captain, i. 224
- Baker, General Valentine, in Egypt, ii. 297
- Baku, ii. 323; railway to, 25
- Baku and Karachi, routes between, ii. 373
- Balance of Power, effect on, of altered Mediterranean understanding, ii. 390
- Baldasseroni, Signor, i. 159, and the Madiai case, 172, 173
- Baldelli, Count, and his wife (*née* Walker), i. 169
- Balfour, Rt. Hon. A. J., i. 141, and the Fourth Party, ii. 258, letters on, 259-60; as President of the Local Government Board, 274
- Balkan States, present day, ii. 228
- Ballantine, Mr. Serjeant, i. 236; story about, ii. 35-6
- Balloy, M. de, French minister. Tehran, ii. 331
- Balls, popular with young men, i. 44
- Balmain, Count Ramsay de, and his wife (*née* Kolontaiev), i. 151
- Balmoral Castle, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 361
- Balzo, Duca del, and his wife (*née* Walpole), i. 150
- Bandiera expedition, i. 392
- Bangor, Viscount, i. 20, 52
- Barclay, Mr., the brewer, i. 31
- Barclay, Mr. George, valuable services of, author's staff, Madrid, present post, ii. 406
- Baring, Hon. Thomas, ii. 29
- Baring, Mr. (Earl of Northbrook), i. 86
- Baring, Mr. Richard, visit of, to seat of Franco-Prussian War, ii. 67, 70
- Baring, Mrs., at Corfu, i. 358
- Baring, Sir Evelyn (Earl Cromer), ii. 291; A.D.C. in Corfu, i. 291; administrative faculty of, 292
- Barrère, M. Camille, French Agent in Egypt, ii. 276, 294
- Barrington, Lord, tribute to, ii. 249; valuable services of his family, 249-50
- Barrington, Sir Eric, ii. 250
- Barrington, Sir William, career of, ii. 250, 406; First Secretary, Madrid Embassy, 365, 386; delegate on Commercial Treaty, 386
- Barron, Mr., i. 30, and the Mather affair, 147
- Barron Mrs., i. 30
- Barrot, M., and Madame Adolphe, i. 192; meetings with, 75, 241
- Barrot, M. Odillon, i. 75, 241; and the impeachment of Louis Philippe, 121
- Barrow, Sir George, i. 263
- Baruti Bashi, *see* Dadian
- Baseir, Mr., i. 22
- Basque Provinces, free trade in, i. 132
- Bass, Mr., hospitality of, ii. 125; funeral of, 126
- Bathe, Sir Henry de, as actor, i. 68
- Bathurst, Colonel Seymour, and his wife, i. 5
- Bathurst, Earl, i. 5
- Bathurst, Earl (the present), Mr. William Bathurst, i. 6, 7, 151, 274
- Bathurst, Lady Georgiana, i. 6
- Batoum to Odessa, coasting voyage of author, ii. 353

- Battenberg, Prince Henry of, and the Shah**, ii. 364
- Battlefield, horrors of, in Franco-Prussian War**, ii. 69, 80, 81, 83, 87, 88, 91, 97, 101
- Bay of Passages**, i. 131
- Bayley, Major**, i. 10
- Bayley, Mr., of the *Times*, and the Corn Law agitation**, i. 237-8
- Bayonne**, i. 138, 365
- Bazaine, General, in command at Metz**, ii. 67, 100
- Beach, Sir Michael Hicks- (Lord St. Aldwyn), ability of**, ii. 127; as Leader of the House, 272
- Beaconsfield, Earl of (see also Disraeli, Rt. Hon. Benjamin), author as guest of**, i. 335-6; on author's work in Eastern Roumelia, ii. 236-7; at Berlin Congress, 193; ovation to, on return, 196; characterisation by, of Gladstone, 196; on "the end of his career," 248; grief on death of Lady Beaconsfield, 132; letter to author, an invitation, i. 335; letters from, on the Fourth Party, ii. 263-4, on the Conference of Berlin, 264-5; in power, 251; relations with Fourth Party, 258; prejudices against, 120, 121; views on Bulgarian atrocities, 140; funeral of, 269
- Beaconsfield, Lady, Lord Beaconsfield's affection for**, ii. 132
- Beauchamp, Earl, at Corfu**, i. 364
- Beaucher, Lady Charles (née Stopford)**, i. 135
- Beaumont, Mr., on author's staff, Madrid**, ii. 406
- Beaumont, Mrs., and her son**, i. 32
- Becket, Colonel**, ii. 46
- Bedford, Duchess of**, i. 141
- Bedford, Mr. Paul**, i. 37; phrase of a song, 36
- Bedingfield, Sir Henry and Lady**, i. 69
- Beeckman, Baron Fernand, artistic powers of**, ii. 208-9
- Belgian populace, orderliness of**, i. 244
- Belgians, King of the, see Leopold I. and II.**
- Belgium, attitude of, toward Franco-Prussian War**, ii. 67; life in, i. 27 *et seq.*; Shah's visit to, results of, ii. 354
- Belgravia and the High Church movement**, i. 40
- Bell, Mr. Moberly, of the *Times*, valuable advice of, on Egyptian affairs**, ii. 297
- Bellevue, above Metz**, ii. 82
- Belmont, Marquis of, and his wife**, i. 69
- Beluchistan, Sirdars of**, i. 187
- Bennett, Miss Julia, actress**, i. 36
- Bentinck, Mr. George (Big Ben), courtly manners of**, ii. 121; prejudice of, against Beaconsfield, *ib.*
- Bentinck, Mr. George Cavendish, popularity of**, ii. 122
- Bentivoglio, Count and Countess (later Marchesa Ricci)**, i. 152
- Beresford, Admiral Lord Charles, well listened to in the House**, ii. 248
- Berkeley, Mr. Grantley, M.P., wit of**, i. 117-18
- Berlin, the Czar at**, ii. 367, author's audience with, topics dealt with, 368 *et seq.*
- Conference of, Beaconsfield on its results**, ii. 265
- Congress of, proposals and forecasts**, ii. 146-7 *et seq.*, 172, 173, European views, 150-1, 184, 187; British representatives, 193, ovation to, 194; effects of, in Balkan provinces, 228
- Treaty of, see under Treaty**
- Berne, friends at**, i. 13
- Bernstorff, Count (and Countess),**

414 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- afterwards Prussian Ambassador, London, i. 193
- Berry, Miss Agnes, i. 94
- Berry, Miss Mary, i. 94, and Horace Walpole, 95
- Berthier, General, in the Ionian Islands, i. 275
- Bertrand, General, i. 224
- Bertry, cheap lodging in, ii. 75
- Berwick, Duke of, *see* Alba
- Bessarabia, retrocession of, ii. 152, 181
- Beust, Count, ii. 53
- Bezen, General von, in attendance on Napoleon III., ii. 77
- Biarritz in 1850, i. 139
- Bidwell, Mr. John, junior, i. 255; wit and fun of, 61-62
- Bidwell, Mr. John, senior, i. 50
- Bidwell, Mr. Thomas, i. 50
- Bills in Parliament, ii. 135 *et seq.*
- Birch, Miss, story about, i. 63
- Birch, Sir Arthur, K.C.M.G., i. 264
- Birmingham, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 358
- Bischweiller, post at, during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 85
- Bishop, Mrs. (Isabella Bird), visit from, at Tehran, ii. 371-2
- Bismarck, Count Herbert, a friend of, ii. 331; on Russo-Persian affairs, 367
- Bismarck, Prince, ii. 153, 367; attitude of, to Russo-Turkish War, 149; on possible English position in Egypt, 289; sayings of, 194-6; and Turkish occupation of Egypt, 276
- Bismarck-Bohlen, Count, at Strasbourg, ii. 92
- Bitto, M., Andrassy's opponent, ii. 187, 189
- Black blood and Arab blood, comments on, ii. 387-8
- Black Friday, why so called, ii. 50
- Black Sea and Dardanelles question, French views, ii. 151
- Black Sea Treaty as affecting England and Roumania, ii. 380
- Blackburn, Mr., a wit, i. 63
- Blackford, Lady Isabella (*née* Fitzroy), and Osborne House, i. 100
- Blackwood, Mr., of the Colonial Office, i. 263
- Blackwood, Sir Francis, i. 263
- Blake, "Peggy," i. 3
- Blantyre, Lord, i. 126
- Blaze de Bury, Madame, novel by, i. 126
- "Blue Posts" restaurant, i. 67
- Boadilla, Marquis of, Duke of Sueca, and his wife (*née* Martellini), i. 134
- Boats, Ionian, i. 333
- "Bob Croft's," an unlicensed night resort, i. 84
- Bobadilla-Algeciras Railway, benefits from, ii. 405
- Bobrinska, Countess, i. 150
- Boissy, Marquis and Marquise de (Countess Guiccioli), i. 156
- Bombs, incendiary, used in Franco-German War, ii. 91
- Bonaparte, Jérôme, ex-King of Spain, ii. 159
- Bonaparte, Louis, ex-King of Holland, i. 12, 204
- Bonaparte, Prince Louis, i. 202
- Bonaparte, Prince Louis Lucien, learning by, i. 200 *et seq.*; collections, 201-2; library, 203-5; political views, 202-203; friendships, 204-5; relic of Napoleon I. given by, to Lady Drummond Wolff, ii. 397
- Bonaparte, Prince Pierre, i. 203
- Bonaparte, Princess Mathilde (Princess Demidoff), i. 159
- Boot bill, remarkable, ii. 23
- Bordeaux, i. 130-1
- Borghese, Princess Pauline (*née* Bonaparte), i. 218
- Borgo SS. Apostoli, author's first Florentine home, i. 149
- Borromeo, Gorgio, Cardinal legate, suppressed despatch made public by, i. 344
- Borthwick, Mr. Algernon, *see* Glenesk, Lord
- Borthwick, Mr. Oliver, abilities and early death of, ii. 130-1
- Borthwick, Mr. Peter, i. 42
- Boscombe, electioneering carried on from, ii. 102, 103

- Bosnia, ii. 6; and Herzegovina, Austrian occupation of, ii. 194, and administration, 193; previous attitude to, in Austria, 163, 166, 172, 185, 187, 191
- Botany Bay, i. 265
- Bouillon, during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 67, 68, after Sedan, Napoleon III. at, 74
- Bourgoing, Baron de, i. 134-5
- Bourne, Sturges, supernatural incident in life of, i. 328
- Bournemouth electorate, author's bill suggested by, ii. 136
- Boutourline, M. and Madame, and the Sloanes, i. 160-1
- Bowen, Sir George, appointed to Queensland, i. 291
- Bowles, Admiral, i. 121
- Bowles, Mr. Gibson, literary taste of, ii. 123
- Bowood, author at, i. 363
- Bowring, Dr. (Sir John), Lord Derby's proposed censure of, i. 252
- Boyer, General, negotiations of, for surrender of Metz, ii. 99
- Brabant, Duchess of, i. 242
- Brackenbury, Consul, i. 164
- Bradford, visited by the Shah, ii. 363
- Bradlaugh, Mr., and the Parliamentary oath, ii. 118, 253 *et seq.*, 261; personal characteristics, 256, 262
- Braestrup, M., Danish statesman, i. 337
- Braila, Sir Peter, i. 331
- Bramwell, Baron, anecdote of, ii. 112
- Brand, Mr. Speaker (Viscount Hampden), and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 253 *et seq.*; characteristics of, 106-7
- Braunschweig, M. de, ii. 197
- Breda, Count de, on European politics in 1878., ii. 158 *et seq.*
- Breech-loading cannon, superiority of, ii. 76
- Bremer, M., and the King of Naples, i. 197
- Bridgewater, and the Princeites, i. 109
- Briey, during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 78
- Bright, Rt. Hon. John, and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 297; and Mr. Grantley Berkeley, i. 118
- Brighton, visited by the Shah, ii. 363-4
- British attitude to King Francis II. of Naples, i. 190
- Fleet, popularity of, i. 4; Shah's visit to, at Portsmouth, ii. 364
- position in Egypt, question of evacuation, Turkish views, ii. 275, 285, 314
- present day, defined, ii. 289; justification of, 288-9
- snobbery and a parallel, ii. 31-2
- subjects in Tuscany, *see* Mather, Mr., case of
- troops in Egypt and the Soudan, ii. 299, 303; praised by Egyptians, 294, 295
- withdrawal of, ii. 287-8, 305, 318; return of, discussed, 316
- British Columbia, Royal Engineers, sent to, farewell speech of Sir E. B. Lytton to, i. 271-2
- British Museum, an intended bequest to, i. 205
- Broadley, Mr. Harrison, ii. 407
- Brockenhaus, General, i. 217
- Brockhausen, Baron de, i. 240
- Broglic, Duc de, i. 196
- Brookfield, Rev. Mr., i. 91
- Brougham, Lord, i. 126; author's acquaintance with, 296
- Brown, General Sir George, i. 5, 156
- Browning, Robert, and Elizabeth Barrett, the poets, at Florence, i. 157
- Brownlow, Earl and Countess, entertain the Shah, ii. 358
- Bruce, Mr., M.P. (and his wife), author's co-member for Portsmouth, ii. 246-7
- Bruce, Mr. Charles, author's attaché, Special Mission to Turkey, ii. 274
- Bruce, Mr. Thomas, i. 117

416 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Bruges, fêtes at, i. 247-8; student days at, 27 *et seq.*
- Brune, Mr. and Mrs. Prideaux, i. 100
- Brünnow, Baron, Russian Ambassador, London, i. 192
- Brussels, Botanical Gardens of, cedars from, for Lebanon, ii. 18
- Special Mission to, object of, and proceedings during, i. 239 *et seq.*; decorations conferred on, 245
- Bryant family, connection of, with Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Bucarest, ii. 18; author as British Minister at, i. 188, ii. 379 *et seq.*; diplomatic colleagues at, 380-1; Sir H. Bulwer at, i. 179
- Buda, *see* Pesth and Buda-Pesth
- Bulgaria, as affected by the Treaty of Berlin, ii. 221; Bismarck on, 194; opposition in, to restoration of Eastern Roumelia, grounds of, 212-13; political aspirations of, 167, 239; Russian influence in, how derived, 240, 382
- Bulgaria, Prince of (Alexander of Battenberg), becomes Ruler of Southern Bulgaria, ii. 283; M. de Kallay on, 278; kidnapping of, 231
- Bulgarian atrocities, crisis concerning and results of, ii. 139, debate on, Gladstone's resolution, author's amendment, 144-5
- language, origin of, ii. 381, 382
- Bulgarians and Turks, differences between, ii. 211-12
- Buller, Mr. Charles, i. 103, 109
- Buller, Sir George, at Corfu, i. 5, 292; wife of (*nee* Macdonald), 292
- Bull-fights, author's, only experiences of, i. 132
- Bülou, Prince, as German Minister, Bucarest, ii. 380
- Bulwer, Lady, i. 261, ii. 13
- Bulwer, Sir Henry (Lord Dalling and Bulwer), i. 212, ii. 29; career of, i. 179, 181, 182, 292; characteristics of, 148, 178 *et seq.*; contributor to *The Owl*, ii. 39; conversation of, i. 184; dismissal of, by Spanish Government, 122-4, 134; as Minister at Florence, 145, 149, 174, first negotiations, 146-8; author as attaché to, 144; at author's marriage, 88; Roman negotiation of, 168 *et seq.*, 166 *et seq.*; Ambassador at Constantinople, 261, ii. 13; at Washington, i. 179, 267; letters from, on Turkish affairs, to Admiral Martin, ii. 1 *et seq.*; on Tuscan duties on beer, i. 167-8; peace-making methods of, ii. 114; death of, i. 184-5
- Bunbury, Sir Charles, ii. 29
- Bunsen, Chevalier or Baron de, and his wife, i. 72, 193
- Burghersh, Lady, second husband of, i. 193
- Burghersh, Lord, *see* Westmorland, Earl of
- Burghersh, Lord, in Brussels, i. 210 *et seq.*
- Burgoyne, Captain, lost in H.M.S. *Captain*, i. 74
- Burgoyne, General, surrender of (1777), i. 72
- Burgoyne, Sir John, Inspector-General of Fortifications, i. 58, 129, 236; breach of, with the Duke of Wellington, 71; family and hospitality of, 72, 73, 74
- Burnaby, Captain Edwin, i. 143
- Bushire, ii. 343
- Busk, Mr. Hans, and the Volunteer movement, i. 238
- Butler, Hon. Mr. and Mrs., i. 125
- Butt, Mr. Isaac, M.P., ii. 34
- Butt, Mrs., and her circle, i. 96
- Bützwil, M. de, Russian Minister, Tehran, ii. 369, 370
- Byng, Mr. (Poodle Byng) i. 50, 51

- Byron, Lord, the poet, and the Countess Guiccioli, i. 156
- Cadiz, ii. 401
- Cadogan, Earl, as host of the Shah, ii. 356
family, and its connections, descended from Nance Oldfield, ii. 47
- Caillard, Mr., i. 22
- Cairo, arrival at, of the Turkish High Commissioner, ii. 298; governor of, in praise of British troops, 294; reception in, of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, public, 291, official, 291-2, individual, 295
- Calabritto, Duke and Duchess of, i. 125
- Calcraft, Mr. Henry, fellow-traveller, ii. 310
- Caldwell, Miss, a noted beauty, i. 97
- Calice, Baron, Austrian Ambassador, Constantinople, and the Ulterior Convention, ii. 313, 317
- Calvert family, British Levant merchants, ii. 320
- Cambridge, H.R.H. the Duke of, father of the late Duke, i. 15, 31
(the late), i. 15: share of in the Exhibition of 1862., 334; during the Shah's visit, 356, 358
- Cameron, Mr., of Lochiel, and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Campbell, Sir George, M.P., Bengalee paper on, ii. 133
- Campbell, Sir Neill, i. 223
- Campion, Mr., and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Canada, progress of, how initiated, i. 270
- Canadian statesmen in England, i. 270
- Canford, price of, i. 6
- Canino, Prince of, i. 202, 203
- Canning, Sir Stratford, *see* Stratford de Redcliffe, Viscount
- Cannock Chase, collieries of, ii. 125
- Canovas del Castillo, Don Antonio, i. 77; Spanish Prime Minister, literary work of, ii. 394; wife of, 395; assassination of, odd incident at execution of assassin, 395
- "Canterbury Old Stagers," i. 68; ii. 122
- Capitan Pacha, the, character-sketch of, ii. 5
- Capo d' Istria, Count John and the Ionian Constitution, i. 275, 390; ii. 20
- Caratheodory Pasha, ii. 201
- Careggi, associations of, i. 161
- Carlingford, Lord (Hon. Chichester Fortescue), buys one of Lear's pictures, i. 358; at Corfu, 86; correspondence with, on Ionian affairs, 373, 396; on Palmerston's popularity, 115; at a spiritualistic seance, 336
- Carlists, a standing danger in Spain, ii. 390
- Carlovo, widows of, petition from, ii. 213-4
- Canning, Rt. Hon. George, i. 1, and the Alfred Club, 38-9; famous rhymed cypher of, 53-4; kindness of, 54
- Carnarvon, Earl of, character-study of, i. 258; resignation of, ii. 147
- Carnegie, Mr., ii. 386
- Caroline Islands, 195
- Caroline, Queen, and Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Carracciolo, Marchese, and his wife (Lady Burghersh), i. 193
- Carrara, visit to, i. 183-9
- Cartagena, ii. 401, 402
- Cartier, Mr., Canadian statesman, i. 270
- Cartwright, Mr. Chauncey, secretary to author, ii. 197, 274, 298; with author in Persia, 324; sent to India, 351; again author's travelling-companion, 367
- Cartwright, Mr. Fairfax, on author's staff, Madrid, present post, ii. 406

418 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Cartwright, Mr. Felix, ii. 353
 Caruso, M., Ionian politician, i. 375, 377
 Casa La Iglesia, Marquis, Spanish Ambassador, London, death of, ii. 398
 Casa Loring, Marquis of, an American, ii. 396
 Casa Valencia, Count, Spanish Ambassador, London, i. 135; and his wife, ii. 395
 Caserta, wild animal collection at, i. 11
 Casigliano, Duke of, i. 168; oddities of, 159; and the Madiat case, 171, 172; on the tact of Sir Henry Bulwer, 148
 Caspian Sea to Persian Gulf, most direct route between, advantages of railway connecting, ii. 373
 Castelar, Don Emilio, career of, ii. 395-6
 Castiglione, Countess, great beauty of, i. 152, 211
 Castile, protection in, i. 132
 Castlereagh, Viscount, i. 52; and the Garter, 234
 Cathcart, Major Andrew, i. 139
 Cattani, M. de, *cited* on Germany, i. 300
 Cattaro, capture of, i. 4
 Cattle Plague Bill of Sir George Grey, ii. 40, 41
 Cavagnari, Commandant, i. 200
 Cavagnari, Sir Louis, fall of, i. 200
 Cavan, Earl of, i. 171
 Cave, Mr., speech on Suez Canal questions, ii. 137
 Cavendish, Lord Frederick, and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 253
 Cavour, Count Camillo, Sardinian statesman, i. 231; relations of, with Sir James Hudson, 175, 371
 Cecil, Hon. Evelyn, at Madrid, ii. 407
 Cecil, Lord Eustace, *M.P.*, ii. 251
 Céleste, Madame, actress, i. 36, 37
 Central Asia question (1865), Anglo-Russian agreement proposed, Russian movement in, ii. 337 (1888); settlement attempted by author, 346-50
 Cephalonia, i. 278; lace made in, 334; surnames in, 331; wax of, 333
 Cerigo, honey of, i. 333; Sir H. Bulwer at, 292
 Cerito, the dancer, i. 144
 Chads, Admiral Sir Henry, story about, ii. 247-8; visit of, to Corfu, i. 365
 Chaffey, Mr., i. 19
 Chamberlain, Rt. Hon. Joseph, author's friendship with, ii. 251-2
 Chambord, Comte de (Henri V.), i. 28
 Champagné, Lady, i. 100
 Channel Ferry Scheme, ii. 50-1
 Chaplin, Mr. Harry, eloquence of, ii. 127
 Charles V., Emperor, artists patronised by, ii. 400
 Charles, King of Roumania, characteristics of, ii. 380; position of, in 1878, 178
 Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, i. 241, 370
 Charlotte, Princess, of Belgium, afterwards Empress of Mexico, i. 242, 248
 Char-woman, derivation of, according to Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, i. 202
 Châtelherault, cutlery of, i. 130
 Chaucer, references by, to geomancy, i. 298
 Chazal, General, in attendance on Napoleon III., ii. 77
 Chelmsford, Lord, i. 33
 Cherbuliez, M., i. 13
 Cheremetieff, Count, Governor of the Caucasus, and his wife, hospitality of, at Tiflis, ii. 323
 Cherry Ripe, Mme. Vestris' song, i. 36
 Chervachidze, Prince, official kindness of to author at Tiflis, ii. 376
 Chester, visited by the Shah, ii. 359
 Chevalier, Michel, *cited* on tobacco duty, i. 317

- Chichester, Lady Hamilton (*née* Blake), i. 3
- Childers, Mr., i. 15
- Childers, Mr. Spencer, i. 16 .
- China, *see* Bowring
- China, geomancy in, i. 298
- Chinchon, Countess of (*née* Godoy), i. 134
- Chinese War, i. 207
- Chreptovitch, Count, Russian Minister, Naples, and his wife (*née* Nesselrode), i. 192, 208, ii. 201
- Christchurch, author's election for, ii. 37, 102-6; meeting at, on Bulgarian atrocities, 139-40
- Christians and Turks, causes of friction between, ii. 3, 5, 6, 11
- Christovitch, Gabril (Gabril Pasha), Governor-General of Eastern Roumelia, ii. 283
- Church of the Assumption, in the Kremlin, treasures of, ii. 23
- Churchill, General, and Nance Oldfield, ii. 45-6
- Churchill, General Horatio, descendant of Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Churchill, Lady Randolph, electioneering of, ii. 272
- Churchill, Lord Randolph, ii. 264; abilities of, 260; Egyptian diviner's prediction on, i. 326; fulfilled, ii. 309; Gladstone's sympathy with, i. 327; important speech of, on the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 257-8; upshot of, 258 *et seq.*; member of the Fourth Party, 121, 258; as Secretary of State for India, 272; Woodstock election of, 272; offices of 1886, fulfilment of prediction, i. 326, ii. 309, resignation of, from Chancellorship of the Exchequer, etc., 310, story of, 311-12; presentiment of, as to his death, 273
- Churchill, Mr., with author in Persia, ii. 325, 352, 355; on Shah's staff in England, 356; returns with author to Persia, 371, 375
- Churchill, Mr. Winston, M.P., abilities and success of, ii. 130; life of his father, by, 261, 271
- Churchill, Mr. Winston, American novelist, connected with Nance Oldfield, ii. 47
- Cialdeni, General, i. 369
- "Cider Cellars," the, i. 83
- Cigars, use of, in Franco-Prussian war, ii. 68-71, 78
- Civil Service examinations, the first, i. 234-5
- Clairvoyant, the, a "good shot" by, ii. 379-80
- Clarence, H.R.H. late Duke of, and the Shah, ii. 356, 358, 361; death of, 383
- Clarendon, Countess of, i. 210
- Clarendon, Earl of, Foreign Secretary, i. 23, 59, 60, 63, 67, 101, 206, 230, 250; French attitude to, 254; share of, in Treaty of Paris, 230, 232
- Clarke, Colonel Sir Andrew, and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, work of Sir H. Bulwer, i. 179; share in, of Sir E. Lytton, 267
- Clerk at the Table, the, duties of, ii. 107
- Cleugh, Rev. Mr., i. 7
- Clifford, Admiral, at Corfu, i. 365
- Clifford, Lady de, i. 46
- Clifford, Mr. Charles, and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Clifford, Mr. C. Cavendish, in the House, ii. 122; literary tastes of, 123
- Clifford, Sir Augustus, Black Rod, ii. 122
- Clive, Lord, i. 97
- Clive, Mr., i. 207
- Clonbrock, Lord (Mr. Dillon), i. 233, 234
- Clouds, Mr. Percy Wyndham's house, i. 102
- Club, "Casino," at Pesth, ii. 188
- Clubs of the author, *see* Alfred and Athenæum, i. 67, ii. 36
- Clubs, London, Shah's visit to, ii. 357

420 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- "Coal Hole, the," i. 83
 Coburg, *see* Saxe-Coburg and Gotha
 Cochrane, Mr. Baillie, the first Lord Lamington, i. 76; letter from, on Ionian affairs, 385-6
 Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice, ii. 36
 Cocks, Mr. and Mrs. Walter, i. 72
 Collins, Mr. Thomas, eccentricity of, ii. 115
 Cologne, after Franco-Prussian War, ii. 89
 Colonial acquaintances, and their stories, i. 264 *et seq.*
 Colonial Office, Ionian Islands, despatches incident, i. 283-6; staff, in author's day, 262-4; work in, nature of, 262
 Colonies, the, question of, i. 334
Color patienza, true inwardness of, i. 130
 Colquhoun, Mr., in Egypt, i. 367
 Colquhoun, Sir Patrick, in Ionian Islands, i. 297, 366; representative of Hanse towns, 366
 Columbus, Christopher, *carabel* or model of, ii. 393
 Colville, Lady, in Spain, ii. 400
 Colville of Culross, Lord, and the Shah, ii. 362
Com' è gentil, Planche's parody, i. 38
Come where the Aspens quiver, by A. Lee, i. 34
 Commercial Treaty with Spain, ii. 129, 384-5, 586; co-signatories of, 401
 Commerell, Admiral, and the Shah, ii. 364
 Commissioners of the Caisse, in Egypt, ii. 280
 Competitive examinations introduced into the Civil Service, i. 234
 Concession-seekers, Fuad Pasha on, ii. 10
 Condé, Prince de, at Edinburgh, i. 23
 Congo Free State and the King of the Belgians, ii. 278
 Congress of Berlin, *see under* Berlin
 Congress of Paris, *see under* Paris
 Congreve, the dramatist, ii. 45
 Connaught, T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of, at Port Said, ii. 307
 Constantinople, *see also* Abdul Hamid, Pera, Therapia; author's visits to, i. 280, ii. 13; Special Mission to, 272, 274-5; changes at, due to Bulgarian events, 284; commission on Eastern Roumelia at, 202 *et seq.*; conference at, on Bulgarian atrocities, 139; convention of (1869), on Turko-Persian frontier, 337-8; garrison, Sultan's confidence in, 398; goal of Bulgarian and Russian politics, 239, 240; Mr. Labouchere's appointment at, 113, 114; Sir H. Bulwer as Secretary of Embassy at, i. 179; as Ambassador, 181-3; telegrams from, during the Crimean War, 208-9
Constantinople et le Bosphore, by M. Tchibacheff, ii. 14
 Consul-Generals, in Egypt, ii. 280
 Consular Chaplains, Committee on, ii. 134
 jurisdiction, Ionian Islands and Turkey, i. 279
 Marriage Act, i. 295
 Conti, M., and his wife (*see* Macdonnell), i. 159
 Continental unpopularity of English Government in 1852, i. 144, 145
 Convention signed with Turkey on Egyptian affairs, importance of its provisions, ii. 287 *et seq.*; general approval of, 288; concluded but never ratified, how affecting British position in Egypt, ii. 288-9
 Article VI. of, text of, ii. 287-8; refusal of the Sultan to carry out, 280, "title deed of British occupation," 320,

- wisdom of, proved by the event, 305-6
- "Conversation Sharpe," daughter of, i. 364
- Conyngham, Mr. Lenox-, i. 51
- "Cook's Tours," to Mecca! ii. 333
- Cooke, Lady, i. 101
- Cooke, Mr. Wingrove, of the *Times*, i. 238
- Cooke, Sir Edward ("Kangaroo Cooke"), i. 101
- Cookson, Mr., in Egypt, ii. 291
- Corfu (*see* Guildford, Maitland, and Storks), i. 5; author's connection with and knowledge of, 7, 255, 283, 291, 293, 295-6, 332, 356, 367-9, 384, 390, ii. 13, 20, 113; and the cession to Greece, *see* Ionian Islands, earlier intention to retain, publication of despatch on, i. 284; after withdrawal of the British, 398; under its new rules, ii. 20; commercial products of, oil, i. 277; wax, 333; finances of, 294; and the Ionian Institute, Zambelli on, 351; fortifications of, 278; demolished, 390; Gladstone at, 286-7; and the Navy, 4; recalcitrant municipality of, 276; Sir E. Lytton in, 296 *et seq.*, 353; University and its founder, 330; distinguished *alumni*, 331; visitors to, 356 *et seq.*
- Corn Laws, Repeal of, and the *Times*, i. 237-8
- Cornellau, Mr. Corry, ingrained art of, i. 117
- Corsini, Prince, and his sons, i. 159-60
- Corti, Count, of the Sardinian Legation, i. 210; at Berlin Congress, ii. 194; in London, 274, 310; on Barrère's conciliatory expressions, 294
- Cornuua, battle of, i. 1
- Cosmo I., founder of Porto Ferrajo, i. 221
- Cosmopolitan Club, origin and end of, ii. 109, 110
- Courcelles, battle of, ii. 81
- Courvoisier, the murderer, ii. 48
- Coutouly, M., member of Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 199, 216, 230
- Conza, Colonel, becomes Prince of Moldavia and Wallachia, i. 180, ii. 10; meetings with, i. 181, ii. 18
- Cowley, Earl, ii. 133
- Cowper, Mr. Henry, and *The Owl*, ii. 39
- Cox, Mr., dress of, i. 263
- Cox and Box*, a Foreign Office caste, i. 68
- Crackanthorpe, Mr. Darell, on author's staff, Madrid, family and wife of, ii. 407
- Cran, M. and Mme. Saladin de, i. 12
- Craufurd family, i. 12
- Craufurd, General, i. 32
- Craufurd, Mr., of Auchnames, descendant of Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Craufurd, Mr. Edward, descendant of Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Craven, Mr. Augustus, and his wife (*née* de la Ferronaye), i. 192
- Crawfurd, Mr. Oswald, and his wife (*née* Perry), i. 93-4
- Crescent, The, and the Cross*, by Eliot Warburton, i. 111
- Crete, provisions of Treaty of Berlin regarding, ii. 210-11
- Crichton, Viscount (Earl of Erne), capabilities of, ii. 128
- Crimean War, i. 16, 19, 56, 73, 92, 193, 198, ii. 220, 382
- European powers concerned in, directly and otherwise, i. 208; hard work at Foreign Office involved by, 49, 207-10; and diversion during, 210; peace after, 230-2; reforms, administrative, after, 234
- Criminals at home, visits to, i. 85
- Croker, Mr. John Wilson, i. 62, 71
- Croker, Mrs. J. W., and Theodore Hook, i. 71-2
- Cromer, Countess of (the first), *née*

Errington), in Egypt, i. 364
Cromer, Earl of (Sir Evelyn Baring, *q.v.*), tribute to, ii. 312
Cronstadt, visit to, of French Fleet, ii. 401
Cross, Viscount, i. 20, ii. 128
Crowe, Sir Joseph, and the Commercial Treaty with Spain, ii. 386
Cuban insurrection, ii. 402, results of, 403-4
Cumberland, H.R.H. Duchess of, i. 103
Cumming, Colonel Gordon-, i. 126
Cumming, Sir John, and the Madiat case, i. 172
Curi, M., Ionian politician, i. 389
Currants, Ionian trade in, i. 294, importance of, 333
Curtois, M., Spanish Minister, Florence, i. 158
Curzon, Colonel Leicester (Sir Leicester Smyth, *q.v.*), career of, i. 292
Curzon, Hon. Darla, at Madrid, ii. 407
Curzon, Lady Georgiana (*late* Countess Howe), and the Woodstock election, ii. 272-3
Curzon of Kedleston, Lord, a Balliol compeer of, ii. 330; visit from, while travelling in Persia, 371
Cyprus, Sir H. Bulwer at, i. 292
Czechs, the, national characteristics of, ii. 165
Dacres, Sir Sidney, commander of West Indian expedition, i. 365
Dadian, M., story of his funeral, ii. 14; arms of, 15
Dallas, Mr., U.S. Minister, as a speaker, i. 267-8
Dalling, Lord, death of, i. 196
Danby, Mr., visit of, to seat of Franco-Prussian War, ii. 89
Dance, Mr. Charles, burlesques by, i. 38-9
Danish Duchies, question of, i. 55

Danubian Principalities, Commission to investigate, i. 179-80
Dapent, Sir George, at the Athenæum Club, ii. 29; letters from, i. 380 *et seq.*; Scandinavian studies of, i. 26, ii. 238
Dashwood, Mr., i. 255
Davey, Lord, election of, in author's room, for Christchurch, ii. 247
David, King, some descendants of, ii. 15
Davy, Dr., i. 7
Davy, Sir Humphry, i. 7
Dealtry, Mr., i. 264
Debates in the House of Commons, memories of, i. 111 *et seq.*, ii. 139, 145
Debtors' evasions, stories of, i. 44
Delafosse, Rev. Mr., i. 15
Delane, Mr., the elder, i. 237
Delane, Mr. John, of the *Times*, i. 236-8, ii. 29
De las Marismas, Madame (*née* Macdonnell), i. 156
De La Warr, Earl, i. 194
Demidoff, Prince, and his wife, art treasures of, i. 159; kindness of, to Holard, 220; Napoleonic Museum of, 219
Democracy, prophecy of Sir E. B. Lytton on, i. 291
Democ-soe hat, a, i. 130
Denison, Mr. Christopher, ii. 37
Dentice, Prince, i. 193
Derby, Earl of, i. 144; character-study of, 256, 258; in office, 177, 291; debate on motion of, to censure Dr. Bowring, 252; despatch on Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 146; friendships of, 111; resignation of, 146; view of, on Austrian army, 190
Derby, the, won by the Duke of Portland's "Donovan," ii. 356
Dervish war-song, by a woman, ii. 304
Deschamps, M., i. 249

- Despatch, a famous, *see* Salisbury Circular
 "Despatch, a Suppressed," concerning Italian politics, i. 342-6
 Despatch-copying, old style, i. 209
 De Vaux, house of, Fuad Pasha's pun on, ii. 16
Devereux, a diplomatic version of, i. 166
 Devonshire, Duke of, the late, i. 80
 Devonshire, Duke and Duchess of, in Spain, *iii* 399
 Dianede Poitiers and her magician, i. 299
 Dickens, Charles, ii. 44
 Dickson, General Sir Collingwood, and the Constitution of Eastern Roumelia, ii. 227
Die Bombe, on Russian politics, ii. 176
 Dilke, Sir Charles, M.P., ii. 131; and Turkish Reforms, 243
 Dini, Piero, i. 154
 Dino, Duc de, *see* Talleyrand, Prince
 Diplomatic stories, i. 80-2
 Diplomats, distinguished, de- traction of, i. 182
 Disraeli, Rt. Hon. Benjamin (*see also* Beaconsfield, Earl of), i. 141, 188, 197, ii. 55; author's intimacy with, and with Mrs. Disraeli, i. 74-5; character-study of, 256-8; differences of, with Lord Salisbury, ii. 204; friend of Lord Orford, 49; Mr. Earle's mistake as to, i. 64; famous speech on British purchase of Canal shares and policy in Egypt, ii. 138; as a "party," i. 117; popularity of, ii. 105; Sir R. Peel on, i. 185; speech of, on Royal Titles Bill, ii. 138-9; substitute of, in writing to the Queen, 249
 Disraeli, Mr. Coningsby, i. 75
 Disraeli, Mr. James, i. 75
 Disraeli, Mr. Ralph, i. 75
 Divination, Egyptian, instances of, i. 325-7
 Dobrudscha, the, and Roumania, ii. 179-80, 240
 Doddington, rich living of, i. 70
 Dodeka Society, the, i. 238
 Dolgorouki, Prince Nicholas, Russian Minister in Persia, ii. 325, 331; and the author, official attitude prescribed for, 339; *pourparlers* with, on future of Persia, 345; confidential (personal) letter on, of author, 346; translation, 347-50; referred to, 367, 369; leaves Tehran, 369
 Donato, Count de, Italian chargé d'affaires, Tehran, ii. 332
 Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, Prince, member of Commission on Eastern Roumelia, ii. 201, interview of, with Lord Donoughmore, 203 *et seq.*, attitude of, as to accounts, etc., 219, 220, 222, 224, 225, attitude of Commission to, 221, constitution drawn up by, 283; hostility of, to Schouvaloff, 238; at Philippopolis (in 1878), 240; friendliness of, at Tiflis, 323
 Doneraile, Viscount, i. 51
 Dongola, the Mudir of, M. Waddington on, ii. 276
 Donoughmore, Earl of, member of the Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 197, 200, 222; letter from, on affairs in Eastern Roumelia, 203-7; fund administered by, at Philippopolis, 212; difficulties of, on the Financial Commission, i. 216; journeys of, in the interior, ii. 220
 Dorchester, author's election experiences at, ii. 27
 Dormer, Lady (*née* Tichborne), and her daughter, i. 101-2
 Douglas, Mr. Snape, i. 54
 Douro, Marquis of, i. 141
 Dover and Calais communication, i. 128

424 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Downing Street, Foreign Office clerks' residence in, i. 67
- Doyle, General, i. 18, ii. 36
- Doyle, Miss Sylvia, wit of, ii. 36
- Doyle, Mr. Percy, i. 18, ii. 36
- Doyle, Sir Francis and Lady, i. 17, ii. 36
- Drama in Hungary, ii. 188, 189
- Dramatic memories, i. 36 *et seq.*, 68, 227-9
- Dresden, Labouchere at, ii. 113
- Dropmore, Beaconsfield's fondness for, i. 336
- Drouyn de Thuys, M., i. 343
- Drummoud, Mr. Arthur, i. 33
- Drummond, Mr. Henry, author's godfather, i. 13, 15, his kindness, 32-3
- Drummond, Mrs., at Corfu, i. 364
- Druses and Maronites, wars between, ii. 6, 9, 10
- Dryden, references by, to geomancy, i. 298
- Du Boulay, Miss, i. 188
- Dubsky, Count, Austrian Ambassador, Madrid, ii. 386, 396
- Du Cane, Sir Charles, ii. 311
- Dudley, Earl of, at the Foreign Office, i. 50
- Dufferin and Ava, Harriot, Marchioness of, i. 331
- Dufferin and Ava, Helen, Marchioness of, i. 113, 191
- Dufferin and Ava, Marquis of (the late), i. 263; Iceland visited by, 26; Ambassador at St. Petersburg, ii. 238; mission of, to Egypt, 269, 285; support of author at Tehran, why so valuable, 332-3; wise handling by, of Druse and Maronite conflicts, 9, 10
- Dumonceau, M. Lagrand, extraordinary financial-religious schemes of, ii. 50-1, failure of, 52, winding-up of, 53-4
- Dunboyne, Lord, i. 125
- Dunstanville, Lady de, i. 95
- Durand, Sir H. M. (later British Ambassador, Tehran), mission of, to Afghanistan, object of, ii. 333-4
- D'Urmenyi, M., character, ii. 188
- Dyke, Sir William, popularity of, ii. 128
- Dysentery among troops in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 100
- Earle, Mr. Ralph Austruther, i. 63, and Disraeli, 64; father and brothers of, 364
- East, the, slow movement of affairs in, ii. 306
- East India Company's government, abolition of, i. 254
- Eastern Question, ii. 136; in 1878, European views collected by author, 158 *et seq.*; settled by Treaty of Berlin, Schouvaloff on, 265
- Eastern Roumelia, Articles of Treaty of Berlin concerning, ii. 197, 210-11
- Commission for organisation of, British and foreign members, ii. 197-200, 279; place of meeting, 202, 207-8; powers of, how derived, 197, 210-11; alleviation of distress by, 212; petitions to, 213; Turkish attitude to, 201, 241; progress of, 202-9, 207, 212 *et seq.*; results, 227, 228; dinner as finale, 228-9; installation of governor, 230
- Constitution formulated, ii. 227-8, 230-1
- Constitution proposed for, by author, Lord Salisbury on, ii. 235-7; Turkish proposal concerning, 237; that of Dondoukoff-Korsakoff, 283
- "Gymnastic Societies" in, ii. 225-6
- nationalities in, difficulties caused by, ii. 211
- proportion of Greeks to Slavs in, ii. 382
- occupation question, ii. 237
- Russian views on, stated by Dondoukoff and Schepelow, ii. 203 *et seq.*

- Eastern Roumelia, views on, of Lord Salisbury, ii. 233-4
 revolution in, overthrow of the Constitution, election of Prince Alexander, ii. 283-4, and incorporation with Bulgaria, 231
- Ebury, Lord, i. 162
- Edinburgh, H.R.H. the Duke of, *see* Saxe-Coburg Gotha
- Edinburgh, Shah's visit to, ii. 362
- Edinburgh Review*, *The*, author's article in, ii. 137
- Edmonstone, Sir William (the Admiral of the House), anecdote of, ii. 128, 129
- Education Commission in Ionian Islands, i. 330
- Edwardes, Mr., i. 125
- Egerton, Sir Edwin, in Egypt, ii. 290-91, 299
- Eglinton, Earl of, famous clause of, 164
- Egypt, author in (with Goschen), objects of visit, ii. 138, 141; Convention governing British relations with, articles of, 287-8; currents and counter-currents in, 294; dislike in, to Turkish troops in, 297
- divination in, instances, i. 325-7
- Egyptian affairs (*see also* Arabi, and Suez Canal), Special Mission on, of the author to Turkey, ii. 272, 274 *et seq.*, objects of, 275, 285-6
 state of matters at this time, ii. 280-82
 venue of Mission changed to Cairo, ii. 290 *et seq.*
 series of meetings with the Khedive and Moukhtar Pasha, ii. 304-6
 further discussions in London, ii. 309 *et seq.*
 some powerful factors in, ii. 310
- English policy as to, Continental views, ii. 148 *et seq.*
- Finances in, how administered, ii. 280; discussions on, with the Khedive and Moukhtar Pasha, 305; the loans, and the house of Goschen and Frühling, 312; plan of author for control of, how upset, 310-12
 foreigners in, how protected, ii. 280
 geomancy in, i. 298
 influence in, of the Arab Sheikhs, ii. 280
 international chaos in, ii. 280
 Khedivial parties in, ii. 280
 maintenance of order in, question of, after British withdrawal, ii. 281
- Egyptian army, an, difficulties connected with, ii. 280-82; improved feeling in, in 1885., 297; for the Soudan, Moukhtar Pasha's views, 303; troops sent to Wady Halfa, 305; Turkish delegate appointed on affairs of, 305; official discussions on, 305
- Egyptian people, as affected by the Convention, ii. 291, 295, 296, 297; characteristics of, 301
- Elba, in 1854, memories of Napoleon I. at, i. 217 *et seq.*
- Electric telegraphy, early days of, i. 19
- Elgin, Countess of, i. 125
- Elgin, Earl of, at Corfu, i. 358
- Eliot, [Mr. William (Earl of St. Germans)], i. 138-9; at Corfu, 365
- Eliot, Mr. W. G., book by, i. 68
- Elise, Grand Duchess of Tuscany, formerly Princess of Rombino (*née* Bonaparte), i. 219
- Elizabeth (Carmen-Sylva), Queen of Roumania, ii. 380
- Elliot, Sir George, in Egypt, ii. 141, 143; anecdote by, 142
- Elliot, Sir Henry, ambassador at Vienna, ii. 200
- Elliot, Sir Hugh, at Prussian Court, ii. 108, 109
- Elliott, Mr., i. 285
- Elliott, Sir Frederick, i. 263
- Elphinstone, Sir James, M.P., ii. 246
- Elssler, Fanny, and the Duke de Reichstadt, i. 144

Elswick Factory, Newcastle, visited by the Shah, ii. 362-3
Embroidery, Ionian, i. 333
Emery, Mr., actor, i. 37
Emly, Lord, ii. 29
"Empress of India," Bill concerning title, ii. 138
England in Egypt, Continental views, ii. 148 *et seq.*
Frederick the Great's subsidy, ii. 108, 109
English attitude to Montenegrin independence, i. 368
beer, Tuscan duties on, i. 167-8
cities and places visited by the Shah, ii. 355 *et seq.*
philological studies of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, i. 201, 202
policy in Ionian Islands crisis, i. 273 *et seq.*
studies of Napoleon I., i. 223
Entertaining, importance of, in diplomacy and in finance, ii. 60
Enzelli, lagoon near, and Shah's palace at, ii. 323; Shah's palace at, lent to author, 375
Enzelli-Mohammerah (suggested) railway, mileage saving by, ii. 373, probable cost, 374
***Eothen*, by A. W. Kinglake, i. 109, 110**
Equality, Oriental, as affecting military discipline, ii. 281
Errington, Sir Rowland, in Corfu, i. 357, 364; friendship of, with Grasset, 357
Erroll, Dowager Countess of, i. 3
Erskine, Mr. Henry, i. 86, 174, 176
Esch, ambulance work at, during war, ii. 78, 79
Escorial, the, i. 135
Esher, Viscountess (*née* Meyer), i. 142
Eucalyptus, play on word, ii. 125
Eugenie, Empress of the French, i. 230; court of, 156; during War of 1870., ii. 71; favour shown by, to Montenegro, i. 362, 363; marriage

of, 281; relations of, aunt, 232, sister, 136
European perturbations in 1858, Lord Holland on, i. 197
views on Eastern Question (1878), ii. 158 *et seq.*
Evans, Colonel John (the Bashì) and Mrs., visit from, at Tehran, ii. 371
Evil-eye, story about, i. 192
Exarch, the, of Bulgaria, ii. 238
Excelmans, Admiral, service of, in Strasburg, ii. 90
Exhibition of 1851., i. 167; anecdotes of, 140, 336
of 1862, anecdotes of, i. 334, 365
Ionian section, i. 332 *et seq.*, 372, author's connection with, 374
in Florence, i. 332
Fagan, Mr., curious incident concerning, i. 191
"Faggot vote" at St. Albans, ii. 105
***Fuir One, The, with the Golden Locks*, by Planché, i. 38**
Fairbairn, Sir Thomas, patron of Edward Lear, i. 358
Falmouth, Viscount, ii. 310
Fane, Colonel, and his wife (*née* O'Shea), i. 135
Fane, Mr. Julian, poem by, i. 212
Fane, Sir Spencer Ponsonby, i. 51; as actor, 68; characteristics of, 59-60; offices held by, 60, 206; quaint address used to, 68; wife of, 60; and the Treaty of Paris, 231
Fantoni, Count, and his wife (*née* Gordigiano), ii. 53
Fath Ali Shah, Kajar, ancestor of the Shah, ii. 326; fate of a grandson of, 334 *et seq.*
Fatima, fille d'Ali, letter on her husband's murder, ii. 216-17
Faustin Soulougue, Emperor of Hayti, i. 104
Favre, M. Jules, i. 196
Fénelon, General, at Sedan, ii. 71
Ferguson, Colonel, of Pitfour, i. 100

Ferguson, Mr. Munro-, of Novar, i. 100
 Feridoun Pasha, Turkish Minister, Madrid, anecdotes of, ii. 388-9
 Fernan-Núñez, Duke of, i. 137
 Ferrari, Countess of (*née* Moltke), beauty of, i. 152
 Festan, Ritter Flesch von, on European politics, ii. 168
 Fétis, M., musician, i. 242
 Fiction of the author's youth, i. 41-2; letter on, by A. W. Kinglake, 214-5; another by Sir E. Lytton, 213
 Finance and financing, sensational, of the 'seventies, ii. 54 *et seq.*
 Finances, Egyptian, *see under* Egypt
 Financier, defined, ii. 58
 Loans, as dealt with by foreign, ii. 63 *et seq.*
 Government and colonial, ii. 61-3
 mental outfit of, ii. 57-9
 profits of, how secured, ii. 59 *et seq.*
 risks of, ii. 62-3
 syndicate dinner, ii. 65-6
 Financing, excerpt from unpublished article on, ii. 56 *et seq.*
 Finch, the Misses, i. 95
 FitzClarence, Lord Adolphus, story about, i. 234-5
 FitzClarences, the, ii. 53
 FitzGerald, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Seymour, i. 65; in Corfu, 364
 Fitzmaurice, Lord Edmond F., *Life of Lord Granville* by, cited, i. 254
 Fitzroy, Lord John, i. 100
 Flandre, Comte de (the late), i. 249
 Fleming, Lady Catherine, i. 150; kindness shown by, 153
 Fleming, Mr., i. 103
 Fleming, Sir Valentine, i. 103
 Florence, Austrian occupation of, i. 145, 162-3; author's first diplomatic post, 144, 163, and *Corps diplomatique* at (1858), 158 *et seq.*; frequent visits to, 176, ii.

104; club at, story of, i. 176-7; home and friends of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte at, 203; life and society at (1852), 149 *et seq.*, characteristics of, 158, 162, 163, Florentine nobles in, 156, stranger in, 162
 Florence, Exhibition in, i. 332
 Floyd boys, the, i. 13
 Fonda Peninsulares, Inn, Madrid, i. 132
 Fontainebleau, Treaty of, i. 217
 Fonton, M., Russian Minister, Bucarest, ii. 381
 Food, Free Trade, Protection, interrelation of, ii. 385
 Forbes, General and Mrs., i. 8
 Ford, Mr. and Mrs. Richard, i. 93
 Ford, Sir Clare, and his wife (*née* Garafalo), i. 93, 191; Ambassador, Madrid, before author, ii. 384
 Foreign Agents, the, in Egypt, author's relations with, ii. 294
 Conspiracy to Murder Bill, i. 207; why defeated, 254-5
 languages in public schools, late Lord Salisbury on, i. 20-1
 Office, the, author's early and later days at, and contemporaries, i. 48 *et seq.*, 200, 236 *et seq.*
 clubs and amusements, i. 67-69, 227
 and House of Commons, relations between, i. 206-7
 story about, and other diplomatic stories (*see also* Labouchere), i. 80-2
 work at, nature and hours of, i. 66, 68, 227, 262
 Forster, General, i. 108
 Forgeur, M., Belgian Minister, Madrid, ii. 386
 Forli, Duke of, i. 193
 Forster, Dr., and his wife (*née* Angerstein), i. 31; Colonel Addison's pun on, 31
 Forster, General, i. 62
 Forster, Mr., i. 62-3

- Forster, Mr. John, of the *Examiner*, ii. 44
- Forster, Rt. Hon. W. E., ii. 29, 131; resignation of, from Irish Chief Secretaryship, 266
- Fortescue, Earl and Countess, at Corfu, i. 363
- Fortescue, Hon. Chichester, *see* Carlingford, Lord
- Forth Bridge, Shah's visit to, ii. 362
- Fortune-tellers, Greek, Sir E. Lytton's interest in, i. 297
- Fournier, M., French Ambassador, Constantinople, ii. 202
- Fourreau, Dr., with Napoleon in Elba, i. 225
- Fourth Party, formation and objects of, ii. 258 *et seq.*, 273; founders of the Primrose League, 270; views on, of Beaconsfield and others, 263 *et seq.*; work of, 265
- Fourth Party, The*, by Mr. Harold Gorst, ii. 261, 271
- Fowler, Mr. R. N., and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 257
- Fowler, Sir John, and the proposed Channel Ferry, ii. 50-1; shows the Forth Bridge to the Shah, 362
- Fox, Mrs. Lane (*née* Buckley), i. 101
- France (*see also* Napoleon I. and III.), attitude of, on Eastern Question, ii. 150-151; attitude of, to formation of Roumania, i. 180; Ionian Islands under, 275
- Francis Joseph, Emperor, devotion of, to Nicholas I., ii. 163
- Francis II., King of Naples (Bomba), i. 190, 191; in Rome, 346; rumoured conspiracy to restore, 361-362; Sir James Hudson on, 382-3
- Franco-Prussian War, i. 205, ii. 51; incidents in, and account of, 67-101
- France-tireurs, les*, warfare of, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 95
- Frankfort, Viscount, and his wife (*née* Churchill), i. 43; connection of, with Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Frankfort, Diet of, story of Bismarck at, ii. 194-5
- Duke of Nassau safe at, after siege of Metz, ii. 89
- Franks, postal, i. 16
- Fransoni, Cardinal, i. 160
- Fransoni, Marchese, and his wife, musical and literary gifts of, i. 160
- Frederick the Great, anecdotes of, ii. 108, 109
- Frederick William IV. of Prussia (first German Emperor), i. 171; soldiers' confidence in, ii. 83; terms of peace offered by (1870-1), 68, 100; affection of, for Nicholas I., 163
- Free Trade, and the *Times*, i. 237-8
- Fréjus, Napoleon I. at, i. 218
- French attitude to English annexation of Egypt, ii. 152-3, 156-7
- army in Syria, ii. 8, 10
- artillery, failure of, ii. 83, 93
- Fleet, visit of, to Cronstadt, ii. 401
- interests in Egypt, ii. 285
- language, difficulties of composition in, i. 74, ii. 200, and of conversation, i. 73; as spoken in Pera, ii. 321
- nation, despair of, after Sedan, ii. 76; privations of, during war of 1870, 78
- Revolution of 1848, i. 121
- views on the Egyptian Question, ii. 275-6
- Frere, Miss, i. 10
- Frere, Miss Susan, i. 3
- Frere, Mr. Hatley, i. 2
- Frere, Mr. Hookham, i. 1; poem by, 2; jokes on; 2, 3; family, 3
- Frere, Sir Bartle (senior), i. 1
- Freycinet, M., and the Egyptian Question, ii. 276
- Frühling and Goschen, house of, and the Egyptian loans, ii. 312
- Fuad Pasha, ii. 9, 13, 27; character-sketch of, 4; in England, i. 261, a snub by, 262;

- neat sayings of, ii. 14-17 ;
Sir H. Bulwer on, 9 ; some
connections of, 388
- Gabriac, Vicomte de, i. 158
- Gabrieli, Ursula (Mrs. Edward
Murray), i. 166
- Gagern, Baron, interview with, on
Hungarian crisis, ii. 162-5
- Gallo, Count Marcello, ancestry
of, i. 194
- Gallwey, Captain, i. 100
- Galt, Mr., Canadian statesman, i.
270
- Galvagna, Baron, and the Ulterior
Convention, ii. 313
- Garibaldi, Giuseppe, i. 153, 345 ;
in England, 341 ; in Flor-
ence, 341-2 ; in France,
feeling against, ii. 100 ; in
Sicily, uneasiness of Pope,
i. 343 ; letter of, to People
of England, 358 *et seq.* ;
on his treatment by Sar-
dinian Government, 341
- Garrett, Sir Robert, farewell of,
to Corfu, i. 391
- "Garrick's Head," the, comic
trials at, i. 83
- Gas-lighting, introduction of, i. 14
- Gaskell, Mrs., i. 17, 96
- Gaskell, Mrs. Daniel, i. 96
- Gaskell, Mr. Milnes, i. 16, 96
- Gaussen, Mr. and Mrs. (*née* Milne),
i. 13
- Gautier, Théophile, *cited*, i. 130
- Gayangos, Don Pascual de, cele-
brated Spanish scholar, i.
133 ; friendship with, 134,
ii. 399
- Geneva memories, i. 12 *et seq.*
- Genoa, Duke of, at Harrow, i. 23
- Geomancy, books on, i. 298 ; Sir E.
Lytton's knowledge of, 298,
and memorandum on, 303 *et*
seq. ; theory of, 300-2 ; works
on, owned by author, 298-9
- George I. (Prince William of
Denmark), elected King of
the Hellenes, i. 384, 385 ;
acknowledged ruler over
Ionian Islands, 388 ; visit of,
to Corfu, 391, 398, ii. 20
- German secondary sovereigns,
Bismarck on, 196
- Germany (*see* Bismarck, Eastern
Question, Frederick Wil-
liam, Franco-Prussian War,
and Prussia), aims of (1878),
ii. 149 ; promised neutrality
of, 192
- Germany and Austria (1878), views
of Baron Gagern on, ii. 162
et seq.
- Gibraltar, Straits of, question of,
and associated matters, ii.
402
- Gibraltar and Malta, Bishopric of,
i. 7
- Gibson, Mr. Milner, M.P., vote of
censure moved by, i. 255 ;
speech of, on the Bradlaugh
episode, ii. 257
- Giers, M. de, Russian Foreign
Minister, ii. 369 ; views of,
on British and Russian
action in Persia, 338 *et seq.*
- Gifford, Hon. Scott, i. 62
- Gifford, Lord, i. 62
- Ginnis, battle of, a Mahdist check,
ii. 302
- Ginori, Marchese, i. 160
- Ginori porcelain works, i. 160
- Giraffes, at Malta, i. 8, 9
- Givonne, during war of 1870, ii.
69-70
- Gladstone, Miss, i. 282-4
- Gladstone, Mrs., in Ionian Islands,
i. 282-4 ; interest of, in
exhibits from, 335
- Gladstone, Rt. Hon. W. E., i.
77, 141, 203, 331 ; and the
Bradlaugh episode, ii. 257 ;
and Colonel Sturt, 28 ;
correspondence with, on
Arabi Pasha's insurrection,
266 *et seq.* ; defeat of his
Government on Home Rule
Bill, 309 ; described by
Beaconsfield, 196 ; and the
dissolution of 1874, 104 ;
Egyptian diviner's know-
ledge of, 326 ; Grand Cross
of the Bath refused by, i.
288 ; letter from, on author's
Ionian appointment, 291 ;
letter from, accepting Vice-
Presidency Ionian Insti-
tute, 353 ; mission of, to
the Ionian Islands, letter

- of Sir E. B. Lytton on, 280-1; qualification of, 282; incidents of the period and letters, 283 *et seq.*; reforms suggested, 288; public opinion on, 286, 287; policy of, rejected by the Ionian Islands, 289; pamphlet of, on Neapolitan affairs, results of, 144; reputation of, 282; resolution of, on Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 144; huge majority against, 145; and the Shah's visit, 359; sympathy of, with Lord Randolph Churchill, i. 327; as Vice-President of Ionian Association, 352; on German wine, 334; on relative functions of the Lords and Commons, 252-3
- Glasgow, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 361
- Glenesk, Lady (the late), Ladies' Branch of the Primrose League founded by, ii. 270
- Glenesk, Lord (Sir Algernon Borthwick), friend of Napoleon III., i. 42, 148; founder of *The Owl*, ii. 38-40; letter of Garibaldi to the People of England entrusted to, i. 341, published by and finally given to author, 338; entertains the Shah, ii. 361
- Glenesk, Lord and Lady, visit to, and illness of author, ii. 322
- Glyn, Mr. George (Lord Wolverton), i. 86
- Glyn, Mr. St. Leger, i. 22
- Godley, Mr., i. 95
- Gödöllo, ii. 52
- Golli, assassin of Canovas, execution of, ii. 395
- Goluchowski, Count, Austrian Minister, Bucarest, ii. 380
- Gordigiani, Signor, and his daughter, musical gifts of, i. 153
- Gordon, General Sir Thomas, Oriental and Military Secretary, British Legation, Tehran, ii. 371, 375
- Gordon, General C. G., Dervish war-song on, ii. 304
- Gordon, Hon. Arthur (Lord Stanmore), in the Ionian Islands, i. 282
- Gordon, Sir Alexander Duff, ii. 29
- Gore, Mrs., and Miss (Lady Edward Thynne), *bon mot* on, i. 103
- Gorst, Sir John Eldon, and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 254; member of the Fourth Party, 258; as Solicitor-General, 272
- Gortchakoff, Prince (Chancellor), ii. 24; declaration as to Central Asia refused by, 337; as Russian Minister, Madrid, 387; story of, 220-1
- Goschen, Viscount (the late), i. 20; as Chancellor of the Exchequer, *impasse* brought about by, ii. 312; as companion, 144; and Egyptian finances, 138, 141, 285
- Gosselin, Sir Martin, as First Secretary, Madrid, ii. 406
- Gossett, M., Deputy Serjeant-at-Arms, ii. 119
- "Gossett's Room," Morgan Lloyd's popularity in, ii. 112
- Gould, Madame, friend of the Empress Eugénie, i. 231
- Government loans, ii. 62 *et seq.*
- Govino, Empress of Austria's visit to, i. 358
- Gozo, i. 10
- Grafton, Duchess of, i. 96
- Graham, Mr. and Lady Hermione, i. 194
- Graham, Sir James, manner of, i. 114
- Grant, President, anecdote of, ii. 122
- Grantham, Mr. Justice, and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 254
- Granville, Earl, i. 52; and the Mather affair, 145, 146; *Life of*, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, 254
- Graphiologie*, story of, i. 47
- Grasset, M. Edouard, popularity of, in Corfu, i. 357
- Gravelotte, Prussian army at, ii. 80
- Greaves, Mr. Walter, i. 125

- Greco, the painter, works by, ii. 400
- Greece, annexation to, of Ionian Islands, i. 176, 280; desired by Islanders, 276, 288-9, 366, 369, 373-4; decided on by British Government, 379, 385; final proceedings, 386 *et seq.*; Greek opinion on, 397
- deposition of King Otho, i. 378; difficulty in obtaining a king, 379, 384, election of George I., King of the Hellenes, 384
- music of, i. 354-5
- supernatural traditions in, i. 297
- ex-Queen of, on the causes of the Revolution, i. 378-9
- King of, *see* George and Otho
- Greek Church, rival sections of, peculiarities of, ii. 238-9
- intrigues in Turkey, ii. 11
- Revolution, effect of, in Ionian Islands, i. 276, 368
- Green Bushes*, play, i. 37
- Greenwell, Sir Walpole, and Co., founders, Imperial Bank of Persia, ii. 350
- Gregory, Sir William, ii. 29
- Grenfell, General Lord, in Egypt, ii. 296
- Grenfell, Mr. Charles, i. 86
- Grenfell, Mr. Henry, i. 86, 96
- Gretna Green marriages, i. 40-1
- Gretton, Mrs. (*née* Burgoyne), sad fate of, i. 74
- Grey, Earl de, i. 23, 24
- Grey, Earl and Countess, ii. 26
- Grey, Sir George, and the Cattle Plague Bill, ii. 40, 41
- Grisi, Madame Carlotta, i. 144; Florentine home of, 149
- Gropello, Count, i. 210
- Grosvenor, Lord Richard (Lord Stalbridge), at Corfu, i. 365
- Grubbe, General Burd, American Minister, Madrid, and his wife (*née* Sopwith), ii. 386
- Gualterio, Marquis, author, i. 152; liberalism of, 153
- Guardsman, the greedy, i. 68-9
- Guernsey, Mr. Wellington, and the Ionian despatches, i. 283-6
- Guerrazzi, trial of, i. 163
- Gueshoff, M., Bulgarian, ii. 212
- Guest, Sir John, large cheque drawn by, i. 6
- Guiccioli, Countess (Marquise de Boissy), and Byron, i. 156
- Guild of Literature, Stevenage, ii. 44
- Guilford, Earl of, Corfu University founded by, i. 330-1; interest of, in Greek customs, 331
- Guillamore, Viscount (Chief Justice O'Grady), story about, ii. 34
- Guizot, M., i. 120
- Gulahek, country house, Tehran British Legation, ii. 345; riot at, illustrating military "discipline," 281
- Gundamak Treaty, Lord Lytton on, i. 186, 187
- Gurwood, Colonel, Mrs., and their daughters, i. 141-2
- H, letter, misuse of, i. 119
- Hajji Baba*, by Greville Morier, i. 62
- Hale, Mr. William, i. 229
- Halim, Prince (son of Ismail Pasha), ii. 308; ambitions of, 315
- Halkett, Sir Hugh, i. 57
- Halstead, Admiral, i. 4
- Halton, Shah's visit to, ii. 358
- Hambleton, Viscountess, i. 16
- Hamilton, Lord Claud, ii. 251
- Hamilton, Lord George, ii. 251
- Hamilton, Miss, i. 7
- Hamilton, Sir George, i. 166-7
- Hammond, Mr., i. 55-7, 230
- Hampton Court Palace, i. 6, 40
- Hanbury, Mr., garden, wit, and career of, ii. 124-5
- Hanbury, Mr., M.P., i. 243
- Handwriting, Palmerston's particularity as to, ii. 46-7; character-telling from, an instance, 47
- Hanover, King of, i. 103
- Prince George of, i. 103
- Royal family of, i. 57

- Hanson, and other great mercantile families in the Levant, ii. 320
- Harcourt, Colonel, M.P., ii. 242
- Harcourt, Lady (*née* Motley), ii. 129
- Harcourt, Mr. Lewis, ability of, ii. 130
- Harcourt, Sir William, ii. 130, 242; friendship with, 129; letter from, 230; a Persian supporter of, 330; speech on Royal Titles Bill, 138
- Hardy, Mr. Gathorne (Viscount Cranbrook), ii. 55
- Harris, Mr., i. 241
- Harrison, Mr. H. Broadley, Commercial Attaché author's staff, Madrid, ii. 407
- "Harrogate," jest on, i. 119
- Harrow, Duke of Genoa at, i. 23
- Hartington, Lord (Duke of Devonshire, *q.v.*), ii. 312
- Hartopp, Mr., ii. 77
- Hassan Fehmi, and the London Conference on Egyptian affairs, its failure, ii. 269, 285, 332
- Hastings, Miss Kate, and the Primrose League, ii. 270
- Hatfield House, author's visits to, ii. 105; visit to, of the Shah, 357
- Hatti Humayoun*, the, ii. 137
- Hatti-Sherif of Gul Hane, the, ii. 340
- Hatzfeldt, Count, German Ambassador, ii. 202, 310
- Haversham, Lord, i. 5
- Hay, Admiral Lord John, ii. 306
- Haymarket Theatre, i. 36
- Hayter, Sir Arthur, popularity of, ii. 120
- Hayti and the Haytians, i. 104-5
- Hayward, Mr. Abraham, i. 77, sole weakness of, 78; anecdotes told by, 78-9, ii. 31 *et seq.*; at a spiritualist *séance*, i. 336-7; dinners of, at the Athenæum Club, ii. 28, some frequent guests, 29-30, whist parties, 30; book by, on whist, 31
- Head, Sir Edmund, ii. 29
- Heald, Mr., and Lola Montes, i. 143
- Heber, Rev. Reginald, Bishop, i. 16
- Heiress of Bruges*, Grattan's novel, i. 248
- Hell, what it requires, i. 269
- Heneage, Mr. William, i. 126
- Henley-on-Thames, school-days at, i. 15-16
- Hennessy, Mr. (Sir John) Pope, political views of, ii. 119; posts held by, and stories of, 120
- Henniker, Sir Brydges, and his wife (*née* Hughau), ii. 31
- Herbert, Edward, murder of, i. 365
- Herbert, Hon. Auberon, and the Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 139-40
- Herbert, Hon. Sydney, i. 77, 141
- Herculaneum, i. 11
- Hertford, Marquis of, i. 87
- Hertslet, Mr. Louis, librarian, Foreign Office, i. 52
- Hertslet, Sir Edward, i. 46
- Herzegovine, the (*see also* Bosnia and Herzegovina), ii. 6
- High Church Movement, effects of, in Belgravia, i. 40
- Highton, Rev. Henry, i. 18, 19
- Hirsch, Baron de, and the Jews in Persia, ii. 371
- History of England under the House of Hanover*, by Mr. Jesse, i. 71
- History of the Reformation*, by Merle d'Aubigné, i. 13
- "Hobbes, John Oliver," a descendant of Nance Oldfield, ii. 47
- Hobbes, Mr., quoted by Lola Montes, i. 142-3
- Hodgson, Mr. Kirkman, ii. 29
- Hogg, Colonel J. McGarel (Lord Magheramorne), i. 102-3
- Hogg, Gog, and Magog, i. 103
- Hogg, Sir James and Lady, i. 102
- Holard, M. Claud, gardener to Napoleon I. in Elba, i. 219-20, 248
- Holborn, as acme of London fashion, i. 138

- Holland (*see* Bonaparte, Louis), Queen Sophia of, i. 78
- Holland House, i. 52, 195; author's visits to, 296; international society at, 214
- Holland, Lady (*née* Vassall), the famous, i. 211
- Holland, Lord, i. 52-3, 98; and Lady, homes and hospitality of, i. 194-5, 211, 231; letters from the latter, i. 195 *et seq.*
- Holland, Sir Henry (Lord Knutsford), popularity of, ii. 126
- Holmes, Mr. T. K., i. 229
- Holmes, Mr., q.c., Nationalist, i. 51
- Home Rule Bill, defeat of Gladstone Government on, ii. 309
- Honywood, Sir Courtenay, i. 162
- Hook, Dr., Dean of Chichester, i. 19, 101
- Hook, Mr., i. 101
- Hook, Mrs., i. 19
- Hook, Theodore, i. 19, 51, 52; dinners of, Athenæum Club, ii. 28; opera by, i. 35; tract given to, i. 171
- Hope, Captain, i. 3
- Hope, Lady (*née* Cecil), ii. 120
- Hope, Mr. Beresford, i. 76, 77; prejudices of, ii. 120
- Hopetoun, first Earl of, i. 3
- Horse-litters for ladies, Persia, ii. 324
- Horton, Miss Priscilla, afterwards Mrs. German Reed, i. 36, 38
- Hoste, Lady Harriet, i. 11
- Hoste, Mr. Theodore, i. 4
- Hoste, Sir William (senior), R.N., i. 4, 100; a stern disciplinarian, ii. 247-8
- House of Commons (*see also* Bradlaugh, Fourth Party, Parliamentary, etc.), anecdotes of, ii. 106-23; courtesy of members, 111; debates in, memories of, i. 111 *et seq.*; on Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 139, 145; entering for first time, 106; preference in, for substance over sound, 248-9
- House of Lords, and popular feeling, evidence of sympathy with, i. 252-3
- House Occupiers' Disqualification Bill, author's first Bill, ii. 136
- Howard, Mr. Harry, and his beautiful wife (*née* Mac-tavish), resignation of the former, i. 232
- Howard de Walden, Lord, i. 239, 241
- Howden, Lord, i. 135
- Hübner, Baron, i. 198
- Hudson, Mr., the Railway King, i. 43
- Hudson, Sir James, diplomatist, i. 182, 381; and Italian liberation, ii. 175, 177; famous despatch to, of Lord John Russell, on Sardinian affairs, i. 369-71; at Florence Exhibition, 332; on the conspiracy to restore Francis II. of Naples, 382-3
- Hügel, Baron, and his wife (*née* Ferguson), high diplomatic position of, i. 159
- Hugessen, Mr. Knatchbull (Lord Braybourne), humour of, ii. 250; writes for *The Owl*, 39
- Hughan, Mr., ii. 30
- Hughenden, author's visits to, i. 235
- Hughes, Miss Etta, post of, at Spanish Court, ii. 401
- Hume, Mr. David, M.P., i. 117-18
- Humour, American, specimens of, i. 268-9
- Hundred Days, the, i. 221
- Hungary, admiration in, of Beaconsfield, ii. 188
- Chamber of Deputies, ii. 189
- Langrand Companies' work in, ii. 51-2
- political strength of, ii. 190
- Huskisson, Mr., i. 58
- Hussars, Prussian, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 73, 74
- Hydrophobia, investigations on, of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, i. 200-1

434 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Ibbetson, Mr., i. 229
 Ibrahim Pasha, Khedive, ii. 279
I'd be a Butterfly, by A. Lee, i. 34
 Iddesleigh, Earl of (*see also* Northcote, Sir S.), as Foreign Secretary, ii. 309; death of, 311
 Ignatieff, General, ii. 181; views of, on Treaty of San Stefano, 174
 Imbert, M., and the Ulterior Convention, ii. 313
 Imperial Bank of Persia, Tehran, founders of, ii. 350
 Incontri, Marquis, and his wife (*née* Walker), i. 169
 India, advantages of Suez Canal over Cape route to, ii. 373; views in, as to partition of Persia, 333
 India and Persia, diplomatic relations between, ii. 332-3
 Indian Mutiny, the, i. 253-4; anecdote about, 365
 Indo-European telegraphs, clerks of, amusement, ii. 112
 Infantado, Duchess of, and her daughters, ii. 398
 Insurrections, essential concomitants of, ii. 267
 International Land Credit Company and the Langrand Companies, ii. 53
 International Statistical Congress, author at, i. 296
 Internationalism dreaded in Egypt, ii. 291
Invisible Prince, The, play by Planché, i. 38
 Ionian Islands (*see also* Corfu), annexation of, to Greece, *see under* Greece
 author's connection with, and knowledge of, i. 7, 118, 167, 253-6, 283, 291, 293-6, 322, 336, 367-9, 384, 390, ii. 13, 20
 British fleet at, i. 4, 365
 British tenure of, i. 273, difficulties in, and efforts to reform, 273 *et seq.*, Gladstone's mission to, 280 *et seq.*; despatches concerning, unauthorised publication of, prosecution, i. 283-6; end of British rule, 386 *et seq.*
 Constitutions for, i. 10, 274-5
 Education Commission for, i. 330-1
 Financial Commission in, i. 293-5
 Institute of, objects and supporters, ii. 349 *et seq.*
 jealousy between different Islands, i. 278
 land laws, i. 277-8
 legislative anomalies, i. 277 *et seq.*
 Lord High Commissioners of (*see* Adam, Mailland, Storkes, and Young), powers of, i. 275, 279, 288
 Marriage Bill for, i. 295-6
 strategic value of, i. 278
 trade of, i. 349
 under France, i. 275
 under Venice, i. 274, 277
 visitors to, i. 356 *et seq.*
 Ionian natives, characteristics of, i. 274, 289-90, 373
 Ionian officers in the British army, i. 383
 Irish affairs, ii. 266; Abdul Hamid's acquaintance with, 315
 Irish party in the House, ii. 116, 118, 119
 Irvine, Mr. Douglas, i. 141
 Isabella, Infanta, loyalty of, to the throne of Spain, ii. 390
 Isabella, Queen of Spain, i. 122, 132; popularity of, 133; pompous funeral of her son, 137
 Islan Effendi, councillor of Embassy, Tehran, ii. 332
 Ismail Pasha, Khedive, ii. 275; European journey of, and opening of the Suez Canal, 292; Goschen's negotiations with, 142; extravagance of, 142, 144; aspirations of, 292, how met by the Sultan, 293; at the Sultan's Court, 308; monetary claims of, 305, 310; why set aside, 315
 Isvotsky, M., career of, ii. 200; consignatory, Anglo-Russian Agreement, 378

- Italian unity (*see also* Sardinia),
gropings after, i. 369, 370
Italians of note in Florence (1852),
i. 151 *et seq.*
Italy, liberation of, i. 175, 176
politics of, a suppressed despatch,
i. 342-6
Izzedin, Prince, ii. 300
- Jacob, Mr., i. 86
James II., links with, i. 95
James of Hereford, Lord (Sir
Henry James), ii. 129, and
the Bradlaugh episode,
257; Committee on Loans
proposed by, 55; visits
seat of war (1870), 78, 88-94
James, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur, in
Spain, ii. 399
Jelf, Dr., i. 103
Jenar, monkey of Napoleon I.,
i. 222
Jersey, Countess of, i. 251
Jesse, Mr., writer, i. 70, book by,
71
Jocelyn, Lady Fanny, i. 195
John, King of England, exhumation
of, i. 27
John Bull, newspaper, i. 51
John Street Chapel, Berkeley
Square, i. 91
Johanniters, the, in Franco-Prussian
War, ii. 80, 94
Johnson, Captain, at seat of
Franco-Prussian War, ii.
66
Johnstone, Mr. Butler, i. 100;
on Russo-Turkish affairs,
ii. 148-9
Jones, Mr. Owen, and the Exhibition
of 1851, i. 140, 167
Joseph, the Patriarch, powers of,
according to Genesis, ii.
293
Joubert, M., French financier,
in Egypt, ii. 141
Journal des Débats on the Salisbury
Circular, ii. 153
Jowett, Prof. B., on Moukhtar
Pasha's work on Astronomy,
ii. 301
"Judge and Jury," mock trials,
i. 83-4
Judic, Mademoiselle, actress, i.
105
- Kabul, British advance on, i.
187
Kajar tribe, Shah's membership
of, ii. 326
Kallay, M. de, ii. 215; title and
career of, 197-8; on the
Prince of Bulgaria, 278;
on Southern Slavs and
union, 239
Kalnoky, Count, ii. 276, 277,
278; lucky mandrake of,
ii. 19
Kandahar, British occupation of,
i. 187
Karachi, routes to, contrasted in
point of distance, ii. 373
Karolyi, Count, and the Egyptian
Question, ii. 276-7, 278
Kars, names associated with, ii.
325
Karun River, opening of, ii. 342-
3, circular effecting, 344;
Russian feeling, 369; progress
of traffic on, 351
Katkoff, M., ii. 24
Kavalla, possibilities of, as port,
ii. 15
Kaye, Lady Lister, in Spain, ii.
399
Keeley, Mr. and Mrs., i. 34;
at the Lyceum, i. 34, 37
Kehl, bombardment of, ii. 91
Kelly, Sir Fitzroy, and the Guernsey
trial, i. 286
Kempton Park Races, the Shah
at, ii. 357
Kerby, Sergeant, i. 8
Khalid Bey, Turkish ambassador,
Tehran, ii. 331
Khedive, origin of the title, ii.
292-3; post of, candidates
for, 315
Khedives, *see* Ibrahim, Ismail,
and Tewfik Pashas
Khuzistan, province, area, and
possibilities of, ii. 343-4
Kiamil Pasha, plenipotentiary on
Egyptian Question, ii. 279;
becomes Grand Vizier, 284,
313
Kilmaine, Lord, i. 125
Kimberley, Earl of (Lord Wede-
house), as Under-Secretary,
i. 65, 206, 207; as Minister
at St. Petersburg, 212

486 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- King Alfred and the Cakes*, burlesque of, i. 39
King, Sir Richard, i. 100
Kinglake, Dr. Hamilton, i. 110
Kinglake, Mr. A. W., a friend of Mr. Abraham Hayward, i. 78, ii. 29, 30; other friends of, and famous books by, i. 109-10; humour of, 110; relatives of, 110; on novel-reading, 214-15; at a spiritualist séance, 336
Kinnaird, Lord, i. 6
Kirkup, Mr., artist, and his occult studies, i. 155-6
Kissiakoff, Colonel, ii. 226
Kitabgi Khan, position of, in Persia, ii. 329; meeting with, 353
Kit-Cat Club, ii. 45
Knebworth, opening celebration at, of the Guild of Literature, ii. 44
Knightley, Sir Rainald (Lord Knightley of Fawley), anecdote of, ii. 121
Kolontaiev sisters, the, i. 150-1, ii. 24
Koran, the, title given in, to Joseph, ii. 293
Kourban Bairam ceremony, a memorable, ii. 283
Kran, Persian coin, ii. 328
Kremlin, ceremonies seen at, ii. 22-3
Kuhdum, country near, ii. 324
Kyprizli Pacha, Grand Vizier, ii. 4; results of his tour, 6-7
Kyzanlik, armistice of, ii. 147
Labanoff, Prince, and the Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 202-3
Labouchere, Rt. Hon. H., anecdotes of, as attaché and after, his wit and humour, ii. 112 *et seq.*; heckling by, of Goschen, 312
Lacaita, Sir James, i. 175, 282, 287; member of Gladstone's Mission to Ionian Islands, 287
Lace, Ionian, i. 334
La Chapelle, Russians at, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 68, 73
La Corde sensible, song, i. 194
Lajaticho, Marchese de, i. 159-60
Lamartine, M. de, i. 134, 258; letter from, to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, 259
Lamb, Mr. and Mrs., i. 15
Lamington, Lord (the late), *see* Cochrane, Mr. Baillie
Lamington, Lord (the present), i. 76
La Mortola, famous garden of, ii. 124
Landor, Walter Savage, i. 157
Langford, Mr. J. M., i. 229
Langrand Companies, aims of, ii. 51, failure, 52, winding-up, 53-4
Languages, knowledge of, importance of, to financiers, ii. 58-9
Lansdowne, Marquis of, i. 61, 212; anecdote of, ii. 111; and Mr. Lowe, i. 25; Persian information sent to, ii. 351; support given by, to author at Tehran, 333, 375
Lansfeldt, Countess de, *see* Monte-, Lola
Larabit, M., recollections of Napoleon I., i. 221
 "Latin race," a Haytian claim to, i. 105
Lauderdale, Earl of, i. 274
Lausanne, i. 13, 14
Lawley, Mr. i. 22
Lawson, Mr. and Mrs. Kerr, in Madrid, love of the former for Greco's paintings, ii. 400
Lawyers, stories of, and about, ii. 34 *et seq.*
Layard, Sir Austin, ii. 29
Layard, Sir Henry, i. 65, 111, ambassador at Constantinople, ii. 203
Leader, M., of the Philosophical Radicals, i. 161-2
Leamington, friends at, i. 19
Lear, Mr. Edward, at Corfu, i. 358; originator of "Lim-ericks," 358
Lebanon, cedars of, provenance of the future, ii. 18

- Lee, Mr. Alexander, and his musical and other friends, i. 34 *et seq.*
- Lee, Mrs. Alexander, formerly Mrs. Waylett, i. 35, * 36, some of her guests, 38 *et seq.*
- Leeds visited by the Shah, ii. 362
- Lefevre, Mr. George Shaw- (now Lord Eversley), ii. 29
- Leghorn, i. 11 ; author's marriage at, 188
- Leicester, Earl of (Coke of Holkham), i. 92
- Leigh, Miss, i. 97
- Le Marchant, Sir Denis, anecdote of, ii. 107
- Le Mesurier, a clergyman, i. 7
- Lemon, the Misses, and their coterie, i. 95
- Lemon, Sir Charles, i. 95
- Lennox, General, at the arrival of Moukhtar Pasha in Egypt, ii. 299
- Leopold I., King of the Belgians, special mission to, events of, i. 239 *et seq.* ; manner and mind of, 249
- Leopold II., King of the Belgians, and the Egyptian question, ii. 278 ; meetings with, 249, 354 ; visit of, to Corfu, i. 358 ; visit to, of the Shah, ii. 354, 355
- Lesseps, M. Ferdinand de, in Corfu, i. 356 ; family gatherings of, 356
- Levant, the, European residents in, ii. 320
- Lever, Mr. Charles, i. 30, 184 ; and the Madiat case, 174-5 ; and Mr. Mather, 145 ; wit of, 161
- Lewaschoff, Count, ii. 25
- Libramont, ii. 75 ; Napoleon III. in retreat at, 76
- Liechtenstein, Prince, official position of, in Tuscany, i. 142, 163
- Liège during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 67
- Lieven, Princess, i. 113
- Life of Hedley Vicars*, by Miss Marsh, i. 96
- Life of Lord Granville*, by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, i. 254
- Life of Lord Palmerston*, by Hon. E. Ashley, i. 141, 164, ii. 39, 40
- Life of Lord Randolph Churchill*, by his son, ii. 261, 271
- Life of Sir Charles Napier*, by Mr. Frewen Lord, i. 274
- Limericks, episcopal, i. 71 ; Lear, the originator of, i. 358
- Linares, lead mines, owner of, ii. 386
- Lindau, political conversation at, ii. 158 *et seq.*
- Lindley, Dr., i. 334
- Linlithgow, Marquess of (Lord Hopetoun), visit to, of the Shah, ii. 362
- Linnæan Society, founder of, i. 264-5
- Lissa, battle of, i. 4
- Literary friends and acquaintances, i. 71, 96, 103, 126, 133, 135, 153
- Little cock-sparrow, A*, and the gloomy vocalist, i. 35, 36
- Livedostro, Miss Statyra, i. 3, 10
- Liverpool, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 359
- Livret d'Hommede Troupe*, ii. 69
- Llanover, Lady, i. 72
- Lloyd, Mr. Morgan, M.P., anecdote of, ii. 111
- Loans, Committee of the House on, ii. 54-6 ; how dealt with by financiers, 61 *et seq.*
- Lobbies, real use of, i. 207
- Locker, Mr., i. 7
- Loftus, Lord Augustus, i. 140 ; Ambassador, St. Petersburg, ii. 147
- Lombardo, M., Ionian politician, i. 371, 376, 377
- London conference on Egyptian affairs, ii. 269
- Longevity, Lytton's story of, i. 297
- Lonyay, Count, views on Hungarian politics, ii. 191
- Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands (*see* Adam, Maitland, Storcks, and Young), powers of, i. 288, 351

- Lord, Mr. Frewen, *Life of Sir Charles Napier* by, i. 274
 "Lord Tomnoddy" of *Ingoldsby Legends*, basis of, ii. 48
 Lorraine, anxious for peace (1870-1), ii. 100
 Louis I. (Charles Louis), King of Bavaria, and Lola Montes, i. 142
 Louis XIV., i. 239
 Louis Napoleon, Prince, *see* Napoleon III.
 Louis Philippe, King of the French, i. 120, 221; deposition of, 121, 122
 Lowe, Mr. Robert (Viscount Sherbrooke), i. 236; stories of, 24-6, 116, 237; adverse to Suez Canal share purchase, ii. 137
 Lowther, Rt. Hon. James, Speaker, House of Commons, i. 191
 Lowther, Mr. William, i. 191
 Lubbock, Sir John (Lord Avebury), and Bulgarian atrocities, ii. 145
 Lucca, i. 188
 Lucca, Duke of, patron of Sebright, i. 367
 Lucifer matches, i. 14
 Lung' Arno, evenings on, i. 163
 Luxembourg Ambulance Society during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 78
 Lyceum Theatre, i. 34, 37
 Lynar, Prince von, in attendance on Napoleon III., ii. 77
 Lyndhurst, Lady, i. 141
 Lyon, Lady Frances, i. 29
 Lyon, Mr., 125
 Lytton, Earl of (Robert Lytton), i. 149, 198, 212, ii. 29, 44; career, characteristics, and gifts of, i. 185; letter from, on the Afghan War of 1879., 186 *et seq.*; on Melianewsky's death, 153; letter from, on affairs in Rome (1852), 165-6
 Lytton, Sir Edward & Bulwer (Lord Lytton), novelist, orator, and statesman, i. 185, 261, ii. 133; author's intimacy with, i. 213, 255-6, letter from, on author's novel, 213, author Private Secretary to, 262, tour with, in Lake Country, 264; despatch of, on Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands, 280-1; action as to the published despatches, 284; visit of, to Ionian Islands, 296 *et seq.*; guests of, at Knebworth, 261, 267; Guild of Literature planned by, ii. 44; interest of, in Colonial section of Exhibition of 1862, i. 334; letters from, on the Ionian cession, 393 *et seq.*; on the Ionian Institute, 353; letter to, from Lamartine, 258; letter from, prophesying Democracy in England, 290; occult studies of, traces of, in writings, 298; memorandum by, on Geomancy, 303 *et seq.*; pun by, on Columbus, 233; speech of, to Royal Engineers going to British Columbia, 271-2
 Lyveden, Lord, i. 123
 Maberly, Colonel, i. 122
 Macaulay, Lord, i. 94; and Lady Holland, 211
 McCarthy, Mr. Justin, characteristics of, ii. 123
 Macdonald, Sir Claude (Major Macdonald), Military Attaché in Egypt, ii. 298, 299
 Macdonnell, Mrs. (later Duchesse de Talleyrand), i. 156, 159
 Macdonnell, Sir Hugh, i. 156
 Macedonia, present day, ii. 228; a retrospective opinion, 211
 McGee, Archbishop, anecdote of, i. 89, 90
 Mackenzie, Major-General, and Mrs., long friendship with, ii. 252
 Mackenzie, Mr., of Kintail and Glenmuick, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 361
 Macleay, Sir George, and his father, i. 264-5; Australian

- stories of, 265-7 ; a lover of botany, ii. 124
 M'Neill, Lady, at Madrid, ii. 407
 M'Neill, Sir John (the late), career of, i. 92 ; in attendance on the Shah, ii. 355
 Madiat case, the, i. 166, 169 *et seq.* ; Lever on, 174-5 ; up-shot of, 174
 Madrid, first experiences of, i. 132, 365, ii. 399 ; a supernatural experience at, i. 327
 author as Ambassador at, ii. 379, 384 *et seq.*
 Commercial Treaty under negotiation at, ii. 384-5 ; delegates to negotiate, 386
 diplomatic colleagues at, ii. 386
 Embassy staff, in author's time, ii. 406-7
 Exhibition and fête at, in honour of 4th centenary of the discovery of America, ii. 393
 society in, diplomatic, general, ii. 398 *et seq.*, travelling, 399, 407
 Maffei, Count, i. 23
 Maffei, Marquis, Italian Ambassador, Madrid, ii. 387
 Mahdi, the, and his forces, defeated at Ginnis, ii. 302, Mr. Moberly Bell on native attitude to, 297
 Mahdis, a short way with, ii. 202
 Mahdism in the Soudan, Moukhtar Pasha on, ii. 302-3
 Mahon, Lord and Lady, i. 141
 Maitland, Sir Thomas (King Tom), Lord High Commissioner of Ionian Islands, i. 7, 9, 273 *et seq.*, 330 ; Ionian constitution drawn up by, i. 10, 273, 274, 275
 Makoutine, Admiral, and his wife (*née* Kolontsaiev), i. 151 ; at Sevastopol, ii. 353
 Malaga, exalted standard of intelligence at, ii. 394
 Malan, Dr., i. 13
 Malet, Sir Edward, British Ambassador, Berlin, ii. 367
 Malmaison, i. 219
 Malnesbury, Earl of, i. 63, 65, 128, 141, 144, 261, 262 ; Bournemouth property of, ii. 102 ; and the Mather affair, i. 146-7 ; author's assistant secretaryship to, 255
 Malta, geographical transformation at, i. 9 ; Indian troops at, ii. 146 ; Knights of, i. 221 ; memories of, 1 *et seq.* ; Mussulman disturbance in, ii. 17 ; "Nix Mangiere" stairs on an Elban parallel, i. 221 ; proposed as asylum for the Pope, 343, 345
 Malta-Corfu conspiracy, the, i. 381-3
 Man, *The, in the Moon*, founders of, i. 39
 Manchester, Consuelo, Duchess of, in Spain, ii. 399
 Manchester, Duke of, after Sedan, ii. 77
 Manchester, visit to, of the Shah, ii. 360
 Mandas, Duke and Duchess of, ii. 399
 Mandrakes, ii. 19
 Manners, Lord John (late Duke of Rutland), i. 76 ; fine character of, 107 ; verses by, 107-8
 Manzaro, Chevalier, patriotic music of, i. 354
 Manzil, journey from, down the Sufid Rud, ii. 352
 March, Mr., i. 233
 Marciana, story connected with, i. 223
 Marcoran, Mr., representative of Ionian Islands at Exhibition of 1862., i. 332
 Maria Christina of Austria, Queen Regent of Spain, high qualities of, ii. 390, 402, 405 ; author's first audience with, 390 *et seq.* ; kindness shown by to author, order given by to Lady Drummond Wolff, 405-6 ; meeting of, with Queen Victoria, 398 ; visit of, to British embassy, occasion of, 403
 Mariani, Count, *see* Rustem Pacha
 Marie Fedorowna, Dowager-Empress of Russia, ii. 376

440 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Marie-Louise of Austria, Empress,**
 wife of Napoleon I., sup-
 posed visit of, to Marciana,
 i. 223-4
Mario, Signor, Florentine home
 of, i. 149
Marjoribanks, Mr. and Lady Fanny,
 in Spain, ii. 399
Marlborough, Duke of, the great,
 ii. 46
Marlborough, Duke of, Lord-Lieu-
 tenant of Ireland, ii. 257
Marlborough, Duchess of (the late),
 interesting dinner given by,
 ii. 271-2; and the Primrose
 League, 270
Marnix, Count, i. 244
Maronites and Druses, wars be-
 tween, ii. 6, 9, 10
Marriage Bill, Ionian Islands, i.
 295
Marriage, Consular, Act, i. 295
Mars-la-Tour, battle of, ii. 81
Marsh, Dr. and Lady Louisa, and
 their grand-daughter, i. 96
Marsh, Mrs., authoress, i. 96
Martin, Baron, Judge, and the
 trial of Mr. Guernsey, i.
 285
Martin, Admiral, letters to, on
 Turkish affairs, from Sir
 Henry Bulwer, ii. 1 *et seq.*
Martin, Mrs. Mountjoy, i. 120
Martino, M. de, Italian Agent in
 Egypt, ii. 294
Massey, Mr. W. N., Chairman of
 Ways and Means, ii. 29
Masson, M., i. 195
Mather, Mr. Erskine, case of,
 complications caused by, i.
 145 *et seq.*
Maubreuil affair, the, i. 218
Mauley, Lord de, i. 5, death of, 6
Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico,
 i. 106
Maxwell, Sir John Stirling-, of
 Keir, works by, on Spanish
 history, i. 76
Maxwell, Sir W., ii. 29
May, Sir Erskine, work on Parlia-
 mentary practice, ii. 107
Mayence, French prisoners at, ii.
 89
Maynwaring, Mr. Arthur, and
 Nance Oldfield, ii. 44-5
Mazzini, Giuseppe, i. 12, story of
 his passport, 149
Meaux, Prussian advance on, ii.
 95
Mecca pilgrims, results of author's
 suggestions as to, ii. 333
Medici, Lorenzo de', and Savona-
 rola, i. 161
Medina Coeli, Dukes of, titles and
 grandeeship of, i. 137
Medina del Ebro, i. 132
Medina Sidonia, Duke of, ancestry
 of, ii. 398; dukedom of, i.
 136
Mediterranean matters, 1878,
 French views, ii. 151;
 policy, British, i. 79
Mehdi Khan, Persian Minister,
 London, kindness of, ii. 376
Melianewsky, Count, i. 152, death
 of, 153
Mellish, Mr., i. 53-5
M. P., the lunatic, i. 108
Mensdorff, Count, i. 242
Merivale, Mr. Herman, at the
 Colonial Office, i. 263: a
 guest of Mr. A. Hayward,
 ii. 29, 30; letter from, on
 Ionian Institute, i. 352
Merv, Russian occupation of, ii.
 337
Mestchersky, Prince, service of, in
 Franco-Prussian War, ii.
 68
Methley, i. 109, 110
Metropolitan Board of Works,
 the, i. 103
Metternich, Prince, i. 159; favour
 shown by, to Montenegro,
 i. 362
Metz, cathedral of, ii. 82; forts
 of, 82; siege of, 67, 81,
 82-3, 160, 191; false tele-
 grams of, 90; return of
 soldiers from, 85; sortie
 from, 89; surrender of,
 negotiation for, 99
Meux, Colonel Addison's pun on,
 i. 31
Mexborough, Earl of (Lord Pol-
 lington), i. 109
Mexico, Emperor Maximilian in,
 i. 106
Mexico, Empress of, see Charlotte,
 Princess

- Michael, Grand Duke, of Russia, ii. 25
- Michel, Field-Marshal Sir John and Lady (*née* Churchill), i. 43; connection of, with Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Michels, Baron Des, French Agent, Cairo, and his wife (*née* Las Casas), ii. 142
- Midhat Pasha, author of Turkish Constitution, ii. 149
- Mildred Vernon, by Madame Blaze de Bury, i. 126
- Miliuton, General, a Nihilist, ii. 183
- Milman, Dean,* anecdotes of Frederick the Great, ii. 108, 109
- Milman, Mr. A. J. S., clerk in House of Commons, and his wife (*née* Hanbury), ii. 108
- Milnes, Mr. Mouekton (Lord Houghton), i. 94
- Mingrelia, Kings of, descendants of, ii. 15
- Minto, Earl of, i. 164
- Mirez, M., ii. 8
- Mirza Ali Asgar Khan, the late Amin-es-Sultan, offices and character of, ii. 327-9; assassination of, 327, 329; travels of, 329, 353; co-adjutor and rival, 329-30
- Mirza Sayyid Muhammed, Ked Khoda of Sangledge, and the tipsy prince, ii. 334, his punishment, 335
- Mitford, Mr. and Mrs. Percy, ii. 104
- Mobile, the, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 90, 97
- Mocenigo, Count, and the Ionian Constitution, i. 275
- Mohammed Ali Pasha, Khedive, ii. 279; and the Egyptian army, 282
- Mohammerah, port, advantages of, ii. 343, 344; proposed railway to, from Enzelli, advantages of, 373
- Moldavia and Wallachia, *see* Couza and Roumania
- Moltke, Count, i. 152
- Monck, Viscount, ii. 29
- Moncorvo, Baron, i. 210
- Monson, Sir Edward, i. 233
- Monteagle, Lord, i. 58, 263
- Montenegrins, the, national characteristics of, i. 361, ii. 151
- Montenegro, affairs in, in 1860., ii. 10-11; Princess Darinka on, i. 359 *et seq.*; views of Baron Plener on, ii. 167
- Montenegro, port for, *see* Spizza
- Montenegro, Prince Danilo of, Princess Darinka on, i. 360, 362
- Montenegro, Princess Darinka of, at Corfu, i. 359; character of, 363; politics and plans of, 359 *et seq.*; on Montenegro, *ib.*
- Montes, famous bull-fighter, i. 132-3
- Montes, Lola, i. 142-3
- Montessuy, Comte and Comtesse de, at Florence, i. 158; the former on affairs in 1878, and on French difficulties, ii. 153-4
- Montgomery, Mr. Alfred, i. 75, quaint conversation of, 76
- Montgomery, "Satan," as poet and preacher, i. 79
- Montherot, M., i. 134
- Montholon, Count, ii. 202
- Montijo, Count of, i. 137
- Montijo, Countess Eugénie of, *see* Eugénie, Empress
- Montijo, Madame, i. 231, 232
- Montmorency, Mr. and Mrs., i. 125
- Montrose, Duchess of, at Corfu, i. 364
- Montrose, Duke of, as host of the Shah, ii. 361
- Moody, Colonel, R.E., i. 272
- Moore, Consul, on Ancona disturbances, i. 166
- Moore, Mr. Bramley, bet won by, i. 79-80
- Moore, Sir John, retreat of, i. 1
- Moore, "Tom," i. 71
- Moquard, M., and the importunate widow, ii. 42-3
- Moret, Señor, co-signatory of Commercial Convention with Spain, ii. 401
- Morier, Mr. David, i. 13

442 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Morier, Mr. Greville, and his parents, i. 62
 Morier, Mr. Henry, i. 62
 Morier, Sir Robert, British Ambassador, i. 13; originator of Cosmopolitan Club, ii. 109
Morning Chronicle, The, i. 94; Mr. Hayward as editor, 77
Morning Post, The, ii. 38-9; publication of Garibaldi's letter in, i. 338
 Morocco, Spanish war with, ii. 390, 402
 Morris, Mr. Mowbray, of the *Times*, i. 238
 Moscow, ceremony of the Assumption at, ii. 22, the Church and its treasures, 23; gipsy music at, 24
 Moscow Committees, the, ii. 224, 240
 Moscow to Karachi, routes between, ii. 373
 Motley, Mr., historian, ii. 129
 Mouffettish, the, and Mr. Goschen, ii. 142; mystery of his end, 143-4
 Moukhtar Pasha, Turkish High Commissioner in Egypt, gratifying reception of, ii. 298; author's interview with, 299; cordiality of, *ib.*; proverbs and anecdotes quoted by, 99; work of, on astronomy and mathematics, 300-1; wife and family of, 301-2; address to the Khedive, notable passages in, 301-2; views of, on the Soudan, 302-3
 Mundella, Mr., anecdote of, ii. 119
 Mundy, Sir Rodney, i. 4; at Corfu, 365
 Munro, Mr., of Novar, i. 100
 Münster, Count, ii. 193, and the Egyptian question, 274, 276
 Murad, Sultan, ii. 331
 Murdab lagoon, derivation of name, ii. 323-4
 Murchison, Sir Roderick, i. 78, 363
 Murphy, Serjeant, stories about, ii. 31, 32
 Murray, Mr., criticism of, by the Shah, i. 269
 Murray, Mr. Ed., case of, i. 166-7
 Murray, Mr. John (Foreign Office), • i. 64-5
 Murray, Sir George, collaterals of, descended from Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
 Mustoxidi, Sir Andrew, i. 331
 Musurus, Madame (*née* Antoniadès), wife of the late Turkish Ambassador, ii. 306
 Musurus Pasha (*père*), and his wife (*née* Vogorides), ii. 230; on his attitude to the Ulterior Convention, 316-7; on return of British troops to Egypt, 317
 Musurus, M., *filz* (the late), on the Egyptian Question, ii. 275, 277-8
 Muzafer-ud-Din, *see* Veliahd
 Nancy, Imperial tendencies in, after Franco-Prussian War, ii. 99; railway traffic of, during the war, 85, 94, 101; *see* of, 96
 Napier, Sir Charles, on the Ionian-Greek character, i. 274
 Napier, Sir William, ii. 33
 Naples, i. 11, 189, 190, 381; affairs in (1852), Gladstone's pamphlet on, 144; British Legation at, 190-2; diplomatic contemporaries, 192-3; Court of, 190, 191, 193; society at, 193 *et seq.*
 Napoleon I., brothers and nephews of (*and see* Bonaparte), i. 202-4; at Elba, traces of, in 1854, 217 *et seq.*, mysterious visitors to, 225-6; links with, 151; lock of hair of, given by Lady Drummond Wolff to the Duchess of Alba, ii. 397; son of, i. 144, 255-6
 Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, i. 12, 43, 69, 120, 204, ii. 40; author's varied sights of, i. 128, ii. 73-7, and mission to, on the Channel Ferry, 50; *coup d'état* of, i. 141; court

- of, 152; favour shown by, to Montenegro, 362, 363; and Holard, 220; and the importunate widow, ii. 43; marriage of, i. 231; Orsini attack on, 254, effect of on, Lord Holland on, 197; proclaimed President, 126-7; and the Treaty of Paris, 230, 231, 232; visit to, of Queen Victoria, 230; after Sedan, ii. 73-7, Prussian conditions, 68; proclamation of, 71
- Napoleon, Prince (Plon-Plon), i. 159
- Nasr-ul-Mulk, the, now Persian Prime Minister, ii. 330
- Nassau, Duke of, reported death of, ii. 89
- Nasser-od-Din, Shah of Persia, author's first audience of, ii. 325 *et seq.*; descent of, 326; favourite wife of, visit to, of Lady Drummond Wolff, 326-7; letter from, before the Persian War, i. 269; views of, on rivalry of his sons, ii. 333; proclamation of, securing rights of property to subjects, 340, words of, 341; 342; desirous of guaranteeing his territory, 346; European visits of, to Belgium, 354, 355, England (two), 350-2, 355 *et seq.*, good impression left by, 366, Russia, 351; nervousness of, in a carriage, 362; author's farewell to, kindness of, 375, 378, letter from, on departure, 377, autograph messages in, to the present King and others, 378; remarks of, on marriage, etc., 327; Treasury of, 327
- National Anthem, one use for, i. 34-5
- Nations, fatal disease of, ii. 237
- Naus, M., in Persia, ii. 354
- Naval friends, i. 4
- Negroes, American stories of, i. 105-6
- Neill, Admiral Sir Harry, i. 130
- Neill, Mr., on the tendency of finance, ii. 63
- Nelidoff, M. de, on Russian attitude to British position in Egypt, ii. 317
- Nelson, Admiral Viscount (Horatio), i. 7
- Nencini, Countess, i. 151
- Nesselrode, Count, daughters of, i. 192, 208; family connections of, ii. 201
- Neue Freie Presse*, on European politics in 1878., ii. 176-7
- Nevill, Lady Dorothy (*née* Walpole), i. 74; marriage of, i. 69-70; *Memoirs* by, ii. 49
- Nevill, Miss Meresia, work of, for the Primrose League, ii. 270
- Nevill, Mr., with author in Persia, ii. 324, 352, 353; with author in Madrid, 385
- Nevill, Mr. Reginald, i. 69
- New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art at, a Greco picture in, ii. 400
- Newcastle, Duke of, on Ionian affairs, i. 392; an appreciation, 393; Sir E. B. Lytton on character of, ii. 396
- Nicholas I., Emperor, and the Petersburg-Moscow line, ii. 21; devotion to, of Francis Joseph, and of Frederick William IV., 163; of his son, 81
- "Nicholson, Lord Chief Baron," i. 83
- Nicholson, Sir Charles, i. 264
- Nicknames and popularity, i. 236
- Nicolson, Sir Arthur, chargé d'affaires, Persia, ii. 325; First Secretary, author's Persian Staff, later career of, wife of, 330-1; and his family at Buda-Pesth, 371; Ambassador, St. Petersburg, co-signatory, Anglo-Russian Agreement, 378; high praise of, 378
- Night resorts, i. 83-5
- Nigra, Count, Italian Ambassador, and the Egyptian Question, ii. 269, 277

- Nihilism, the foe of Western civilisation, ii. 183
 Nijni Novgorod, author's visit to the Fair of, ii. 22
 "Nix Mangiere" stairs, Malta, an Elban parallel, i. 221
 Norfolk, Duke of, host of the Shah, ii. 355, 359
 Normanby, Marchioness of, witticism of, on birth of the Brownings' son, i. 157
 Normanby, Earl of, i. 141, 176, 177, 200; Ambassador in Paris, 125; Viceroy of Ireland, i. 115
 North, Colonel, i. 18, ii. 36
 Northbrook, Earl of, mission of, to Egypt, ii. 269, 285
 Northcote, Sir Stafford (*see also* Iddesleigh, Earl of), and the Fourth Party, ii. 258, 270; and Mr. Gladstone, 253-4; and the Premiership, 271; office of, in the Salisbury Government, 272
 Northumberland, Duke of (Lord Percy), and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 257
 Norton, Hon. Mrs. (*née* Sheridan), i. 115; at Naples, 191-2
 Norton, Mr. Brinsley, i. 192
 Norton, Mr. Fletcher, i. 191
 Nothomb, M., i. 249
Nouveaux riches and Society, i. 43
 Novel-reading, Kinglake on, i. 214-5
 Novel-writing, Sir E. Lytton on, i. 213
 Nubar Pasha, British confidence in, ii. 299; on Irish, as affecting Egyptian, politics, 304; in London, on the Ulterior Convention, 310; pleased with the Anglo-Turkish Convention, 291, 295; and the Sheikhs, 280; views of, on the proposed (Berlin) Congress, 154-6
 Obreskow, General, ii. 227
 O'Brien, Mr. Smith, ii. 33
 O'Connell, Daniel, stories about, ii. 31, 32
 O'Connell, Mr. Morgan J., i. 229
 O'Connor, Feargus, i. 122
 Odling, Dr., accompanies author when ill, to England, ii. 375
 O'Dowd, Mr. James, i. 229
 O'Gorman-Mahon, The, election experiences of, ii. 116
 Oil, importance of, in Ionian commerce, i. 333
 Oldfield, Nance, sketch of life of, ii. 44 *et seq.*; descendants of, 46-8
 Oldoini, Marchesa, and her famous daughter, beauties, i. 152
 Oliphant, Mr. Laurence, i. 337, ii. 29; spiritualistic cult of, i. 92-3; writer for *The Owl*, ii. 39
 Oliphant, Mrs., literary force of, i. 215; her best novel, *Kinglake* on, 216
 Omar, the Caliph, Moukhtar Pasha's stories of, ii. 300
 Omnibus and train, as emancipators, i. 40
 Oom, Mr., nicknames, i. 52
 Opium War, i. 252-3
 Orczy, Baron, on Russian secret societies, ii. 186
 Order of the Bath, Cross refused by Mr. Gladstone, i. 287-8
 of the Damas Noblas de Maria Luisa, conferred on Lady Drummond Wolff, ii. 405-6
 of the Garter, some recipients, i. 234
 of the Guelph, i. 55
 of Leopold, conferred on members of Special Mission to Brussels, i. 245; despatch on, 250-1
 of St. Faustin (of Hayti), i. 104
 of St. Michael and St. George, i. 274-5
 of St. Stephen, i. 221
 of the Shefakat, conferred on Lady Drummond Wolff, ii. 290
 Orford, Earl and Countess of, i. 74
 Orford, Earl of (late), characteristics and stories of, ii. 48-9
 Orford, Earl of (the present), *see* Walpole, Hon. R. H.
 Orford, Earl of (2nd), and his

- family and connections descended from Nance Oldfield, ii. 47
- Organic Statute for Eastern Roumelia, signed and celebrated, ii. 228-9; events subsequent to, 237
- Oriental Bank, Tehran, ii. 350
- Oriental Club, i. 87
- Orientalists, and military discipline, ii. 281-2
- Orloff, Prince, ii. 24
- Orsini, attempt of, on Napoleon III., i. 197, 254; glimpses of, 12, 204-5
- Orsini, Count and Countess (*née* Orloff), i. 152
- Osborne, Mr. Bernal, i. 236; stories of, 115-16
- Osborne House, i. 100; farewell visit of the Shah to Queen Victoria at, ii. 364
- O'Shea, Captain, election experiences of, ii. 116; Mr. and his family, i. 135
- Osuna, Duke of, ii. 399
- Otho, King of Greece, deposed, i. 378
- Otway, Sir Arthur, i. 100, 103, 124, 126, 127
- Overend and Gurney, bankruptcy of, ii. 50
- "Owen Meredith," *see* Lytton, Earl of
- Owen, Mr. Robert, i. 135
- Owl, *The*, newspaper, 38, 250; contributors, 38-40, 123; verses by Sir G. Trevelyan in, 41-2
- "Owls, *The*," and their houses named after, ii. 102
- Oxford, Bishop of (Dr. Legge), i. 1, 2
- Padovan, M., Ionian politician, i. 375
- Paget, Sir Augustus (the late), i. 125; and the Shah, ii. 358
- Palagonia, Prince, and his wife (*née* Walpole), i. 150
- Palazzo Rocella, centre of Neapolitan society, its owners, i. 194
- Palestine, prophecy, and profit, story about, i. 235
- Paliseul during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 76
- Palgrave, Sir Reginald F. (Mr. Palgrave), second Clerk, House of Commons, ii. 108
- Palmer, Sir Roger, i. 30
- Palmerston, Earl of, i. 59, 94, 176, 209, 385, ii. 40; causes of his downfall, i. 254, 255; despatch of, leading to Sir H. Bulwer's departure from Spain, 122-3; on dining-out, 112; discovers secret of publication of Treaty, 66; discussion of the *coup d'état*, by, 141; dislike of, to smoking, 67; "the Expelled Minister," 141; first interview of author with, 46; at the Foreign Office, 48; geniality of, 47-8, 113, 114, 190; given the Garter, 234; Gualterio's memorandum on Italian organisation sent to, 154; as Home Secretary, 206-7; fall of his Government, 207; influence of, on the Treaty of Paris, 233; insistence of, on good handwriting, 46-7; Lady Holland on, 195-6; and the Madiai case, 172; on Mr. Mellish, 55; speech of, on Greece, and our policy regarding, 118
- Palmerston, Viscount, the "suppressed despatch" from Rome, i. 343; unpopularity of, abroad, 144-5, 190; why so popular at home, 115
- Palmerston, Viscountess, i. 48, 94, 210; interest of, in Ionian exhibits (1862), 335; notable party given by, 141; after her husband's death, 195-6
- Panacea, a French, for sea-sickness, i. 117
- Panizzi, Sir Antonio, Chief Librarian, British Museum, i. 211-12, 282, 353
- Pan-Servian State, Croat ideal, ii. 239
- Panslavism, definition of, ii. 183; possible menace of, 172

- Pantomime, amateur, play-bill of, i. 227-9
- Papal Nuncio, British objection to, i. 164
- Papal See, British relations with, i. 164 *et seq.*
- Pape, General von, courtesy of, ii. 73
- Paressa, Signora, *cantatrice*, i. 191
- Paris during the Commune, Lady Holland on, i. 196
- de Lesseps' little American friend in, i. 356
- at the Revolution of 1848., i. 121, a visit to, 124-7
- on the entry of the Prince-President, i. 126-7
- in the War of 1870, the advance on, ii. 68, 85, false telegrams about, 90
- Paris, Congress of, 1856, i. 60, 218
- Paris, Peace of, as affecting Ionian Islands, i. 273
- Paris, Treaty of, *see under* Treaty
- Parliament, *see* Bradlaugh, Debates, House of Lords, House of Commons, and statesmen under names
- Parliamentary campaigns of author, ii. 27, 37, 102-5, 246-7
- Parliamentary life, and friends, ii. 111 *et seq.*, 129 *et seq.*, 247, 249 *et seq.*
- Partridge, Dr., attends Garibaldi, i. 338, 341
- Party feeling in House of Commons no bar to friendship, ii. 111
- Pauncefote, Sir Julian, ii. 310
- Paxo, proposal to retain as British Colony, i. 284; Sir H. Bulwer at, 292
- Peace, Treaty of, *see* Treaty of Paris
- Peasants, French, assisted by Prussians, ii. 95; indifference of, to war, 86
- Peel, General, i. 291
- Peel, Major, in Corfu, Crimean wound of, i. 291
- Peel, Sir Robert, i. 13, 48; and the Corn Laws, 237; desire of, for the Garter, 234; on Lytton and Disraeli, 185; Portsmouth speech of, ii. 247
- Peel, Sir Robert (younger), humour of, ii. 126, 127
- PéKssier, Marshal, French Ambassador in London, i. 270
- Pellew, Sir Fleetwood, i. 89
- Pemberton, Colonel Christopher, *Times* correspondent, killed at La Chapelle, ii. 69
- Pennell, Mr. Croker, i. 62
- Pentreath, Dolly, monument to, by Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, i. 201
- Pera, French, as spoken at, ii. 321
- Pera theory, the, ii. 235
- Perry, Sir Erskine, i. 94; ii. 29
- Persia, attitude of, to Russian requests, Alexander III. on, ii. 369; author appointed Minister to, 322, questions pending on author's arrival, 333, 337, pleasant memories of, 376; banks set up in, 350; development of, language of the Shah on, 366; frontiers of, ill-defined, 337-9; instance of military "discipline" in, 281; Jews in, interest in, of Baron de Hirsch, 371; language of, similarities in, to English, 324; mint of, reorganised by the former Amin-es-Sultan, 328; railway concessions to Russians in, 351; Sir J. McNeill in, 1, 292
- Persia and Great Britain, Treaty of Peace between, i. 269-70
- Persia and Spain, liquid link between, i. 138
- Persian Gulf, best port on, ii. 343; Russian access to, author's views on, 372-4
- Persian Gulf and Caspian Sea, advantages of railway between, ii. 373
- Persian War, letter of the Shah inducing, i. 269
- Persians as companions, charm and perfect manners of, ii. 376
- Persigny, Count, ii. 40

- Perso-Russian frontier, delimitation of, official views on, English and Russian, ii. 338-9
- Perso-Turkish frontier, ill-defined, ii. 337-8
- Peruchio, Sieur de, work by, on Germany, i. 299, 321
- Pesth or Buda-Pesth, visits to, ii. 187, 190, 201-2, 371; views on European situation at, 187 *et seq.*
- Petre, Mr., position of, at Rome, i. 165
- Petre, Sir George, and his beautiful wife (*née* Sneyd), i. 232
- Peyton, Rev. Algernon, rector of Doddington, his rich living, i. 70
- Phanariote families, position and offices of, ii. 18, 382
- Philæ, destruction of, Lear's picture of, i. 358
- Philip van Artevelde*, by Sir Henry Taylor, i. 263
- Philippopolis, seat of Commission on Eastern Roumelia, ii. 202, 207-8; Russian objections, 204-5; distress in, and petitions presented to Commission, 213-14
- Philips, Mr., frescoes by, in Cosmopolitan Club, ii. 109
- Phillimore, Captain, R.N., stories of, i. 183-4
- Philosophical Radicals, the, i. 161
- Phipps, Mr. Constantine, i. 175
- Phipps, Hon. Edmund, and his wife, i. 175
- Pianosa, Island of, i. 219
- Piccolomini, Madame, singer, i. 332
- Pillage, martial law of, ii. 91
- Pio de Savoia, Prince and Princess, i. 160
- Piombino, Princess Elise of (*née* Bonaparte), afterwards Grand-Duchess of Tuscany, i. 219
- Pisa, i. 12
- Pisani, Count, and Mr. Labouchere, ii. 114
- Pitman's stenography, i. 19
- Pitti, Marchese, and the famous Palazzo, i. 160
- Pius IX., Pope, ii. 51, and the Eglinton clause, i. 164; interview of, with Mr. Russell, 342 *et seq.*; on Lord Odo Russell, 198; wit of, 198-9
- Planché, Mr., burlesques by, i. 38
- Plati Island, Sir H. Bulwer's purchase of, i. 181-2
- *Plays of the author's youth, i. 37-8
- Plener, Baron, on Austro-Turkish politics, ii. 166
- Podjo, M., Russian Secretary, Tehran, and his wife (*née* Arapoff), ii. 332
- Points of view, stories about, i. 235-6
- Poitiers, road leading to, i. 130
- Political and civil liberty in Turkish dependencies, Lord Salisbury on, ii. 233-4
- Pollington, Viscount and Viscountess (*née* Walpole), afterwards Earl and Countess of Mexborough, i. 74, 109; travels with, 69; visit to, 140
- Pollington, Viscountess (*née* Errington), i. 364
- Pompeii, i. 11
- Poniatowski, Princes Charles and Joseph, i. 151
- Ponsonby, Colonel Arthur, i. 5; A.D.C. in Corfu, i. 292
- Ponsonby, General Sir Henry, i. 5
- Ponsonby, Lady Emily, i. 5, 6, 7
- Ponsonby, Lord, and Captain Phillimore, R.N., i. 183
- Ponsonby, Mr. Frederick, i. 68
- Ponsonby, Mr. Spencer, *see* Fane, Sir Spencer Ponsonby
- Ponsonby, Sir Frederick, and his wife, i. 5
- Ponsonby, Sir Henry, i. 162
- Pont-à-Mousson, ii. 94; Prussian army at, 80, 100
- Pontois, Comte de, i. 195, 196
- Poole, election methods at, ii. 103
- Popularity, nicknames a test of, i. 236
- Portal, Mr. Melville, i. 86
- Porte d'Austerlitz*, after the siege, ii. 92
- Portland, Duke of, as Derby winner, ii. 356

448 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Porto Ferrajo, Elba, i. 219; why founded, its street of stairs, 221
- Portsmouth, author's election for, ii. 105, 246-7; visit to, of the Shah, 364
- Postal reforms, i. 16, 17
- Poti-Tiflis railway, *pourparlers* on, ii. 25
- Potocki, Count, i. 80, ii. 63
- Poulett, Countess, i. 101, 162
- Poulett, Earl, i. 162
- Poulett, Hon. Amyas, i. 162
- Powers, the, approval by, of Anglo-Turkish Egyptian Convention, ii. 288
- Powers, the, attitude of, before Berlin Congress, *see* Eastern Question
- Poynter, Sir E., in Spain, ii. 400
- Pozuelo, home of the Gayangos family, i. 134
- Pratt, Mr. Spencer, American Minister, Tehran, ii. 332
- Pretenderi, Tipaldo, an Ionian surname, i. 331
- Primrose League, founders of, ii. 269; Ladies' Branch founded, 270; Lord Salisbury on its titles, 271
- Prince Consort, the, i. 230; President of Ionian Association, 352; President of Statistical Congress, 296; death of, 334
- Prince Imperial, i. 202; at Saarbrücken, ii. 88
- Prince Edward Island, i. 292
- Prince, Mr., and his sect, i. 109
- Princess Royal (Empress Frederick), marriage of, i. 269
- Prinkipo Island, ii. 19
- Procchio, Elba, i. 224
- Processions, Belgian, official, i. 242; historical, 246, 247
- Prokesch-Osten, Baron, ii. 27
- Propriété, La, c'est le Vol, revue*, i. 124-5
- Proselytism—the Madiari case, i. 170
- Protection, Free-Trade, and increase of population, ii. 385
- Protocol, a *gastronomie*, ii. 229
- Proudhon, Socialist writer, burlesqued, i. 124-5
- Proverbial Philosophy*, author of, i. 77
- Prussia House, great ball at, i. 193
- Prussia, represented on the Danube Provinces Commission, i. 180
- Prussia, King of, *see* Frederick William IV.
- Prussian, *see also* Franco-Prussian War
- Prussian artillery, superiority of, ii. 76
- Prussian cavalry, ii. 68
- Prussian clemency, ii. 70, 88, 95, 97, 98
- Prussian losses and sickness, ii. 81, 84, 100
- Public Workshop Facilities Bill, ii. 135
- Pulszki, MM., ii. 189
- Pucci, Marchese, and his wife (*née* Bobrinska), i. 150
- Puckler-Muskau, Prince, i. 8
- Pythagoras, Wheel of, divination by, i. 321-9
- Quarterly Review, The*, i. 93; author's article in, ii. 137
- Queen's Messengers during the Crimean War, i. 208
- Queensland, why so called, i. 291
- Radcliffe, Mrs., novelist, i. 41
- Radetsky, Marshal, and the Mather affair, i. 146
- Radolin, Prince (Count Radolinsky), ii. 202
- Radowitz, M. de, German Ambassador, and the Egyptian Commission, ii. 284; friendly as to Ulterior Convention, 313, 317; at Madrid, 386
- Raikes, Mr., career of, ii. 250-1
- Rainoff, M., and the Eastern Roumelian Commission, political views of, ii. 214-16
- Ramleh, owner of author's house at, ii. 306
- Ramsay, Mr. Williamson, i. 101
- Rangemore, funeral of Mr. Bassin, ii. 126
- Raphael Sanzio d' Urbino, palace designed by, i. 151

- Rawlinson, Sir Henry, i. 78, ii. 29; on personally conducting royalties, 356
- Ray, Mr. Edward, i. 101
- Reach, Mr. Angus, and Thackeray, i. 39
- Recogné, Napoleon III. at, ii. 76
- Reddish, Professor, diving of, before the Shah, ii. 364
- Redondo, José, bull-fighter, i. 132
- Reed, Mr. and Mrs. German (Priscilla Horton), i. 36
- Reeve, Mr. Henry, editor of *The Edinburgh Review*, ii. 137
- Reform Bills, i. 6, 290, ii. 103
- Regimental Exchanges Bill, ii. 135
- Reichstadt, Duke de (King of Rome), i. 144, story about, 225-6
- Reilly, Colonel, and "The Owl," ii. 39
- "Remember Me," verses by Lord John Manners, i. 107-8
- Remenham, i. 16
- Remilly during Franco-Prussian War, ii. 100, 101
- Renzis, M. de, Italian Ambassador, Madrid, ii. 387
- Republic desired in Paris (1848), i. 121
- Republicanism, feeling against, after Franco-Prussian War, ii. 100
- Republicanism in Spain, ii. 390, a noted leader, 396
- Reschid Pasha school, the, ii. 388
- Reserves called out (1878), ii. 146, 147
- Resht, lagoon near, ii. 323; road-way from, to Kazvin, 324
- Reumont, M. de, diplomatist and historian, i. 158
- Reuter, Baron de, and Baron George de, compensation claims of, in Persia, ii. 340
- Reuter, Baron Julius de, founder of Imperial Bank of Persia, ii. 350
- Revolution, Vattel's maxim on, i. 370
- Revue de Deux Mondes*, i. 126
- Rezonville, battle of, ii. 81
- Rhine, gunboats on, Franco-Prussian War, ii. 90
- Riâno, Señor, literary man, and his wife (*née* de Gayangos), i. 134, ii. 398-9
- Riario-Sforza, Count, i. 158
- Ricci, Marchesa (*née* Poniatowski), i. 151, earlier Contessa Bentivoglio, 152
- Rice, Captain, R.N., ii. 290
- Rice, Mr. Charles Spring-, i. 58, 263; handwriting of, 47; musical self-defence of, 59
- Richards, Mr. Bates, and his lovely wife (Mrs. Gaggiotti Richards), i. 238
- Richmond memories, i. 14 *et seq.*
- Ridgway, Mr., i. 195
- Ring, Baron de, ii. 198
- River Karun, The*, by W. F. Ainsworth, ii. 343
- Riviera, Mr. Nanbury's botanical garden on, i. 124
- Riza Pacha, ii. 6; character-sketch of, 4
- Roden, Earl of, i. 170
- Rodostamos, M., ii. 20
- Roebuck, Mr., M.P., i. 118, 125
- Rogers, Mr. Samuel, i. 1, 96
- Roman Catholics, French, hostility of, to Prussians, ii. 91
- Roman traits, persistence of, ii. 382-3
- Rome, King of, *see* Reichstadt, Duke of
- Rome, The Correspondence relative to the affairs of*, suppressed reply to, i. 342-6
- Romilly, Mr., ii. 30
- Ros, Lord de, in attendance on the Shah, ii. 355
- Rose, Sir John, High Commissioner for Canada, i. 270
- Rosebery, Countess of (*née* Rothschild), ii. 134
- Rosebery, Earl of, as Foreign Minister, relations of, with author, ii. 304-5; as host of the Shah, 357; visit of, to Japan, 407-8
- Ross, Mr., Canadian statesman, i. 270
- Rothschild, Baron Alphonse de, and his lovely wife, i. 210, ii. 134

450 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Rothschild, Baron Ferdinand de, his wife, and art treasures, ii. 134; Shah's visit to, 358
- Rothschild, Baron Lionel de, i. 210; and his family, ii. 131-4; wide political knowledge of, 133
- Rothschild, Baron Nathan Meyer de, and the news of Waterloo, ii. 133
- Rothschild, Lord and Lady, ii. 131
- Rothschild, Mr. Alfred de, and the Shah, ii. 358
- Rothschild, Mr. Nathaniel de, ii. 131
- Rothschild family, courtesies of, to the Shah, ii. 358; unique position and wealth of, 132-3
- Rothschild, firm of, and Suez Canal shares, ii. 137
- Roumania, evolution of, first Prince of, i. 180; annexation by, of the Dobrudscha, discussion on, ii. 179, 240
author as Minister in, ii. 379 *et seq.*, odd incident concerning, 379-80
independence of, ii. 167
liberty in, ii. 179
powers controlling, ii. 380
Prince of, threatened by Russia, ii. 176, 178
Russian ultimatum to, ii. 176-7; chief article in treaty with, 181
- Roumanian people, characteristics of, ii. 381; Latin descent and language of, ii. 381-2
- Roumelia (*see also* Eastern Roumelia), outbreak in, ii. 172, known as Roumelian Revolution, 283
- Roumelia Terrace in Bournemouth, ii. 102
- Rowton, Lord (Mr. Montagu Corry), i. 64
- Royal Society, papers at, Dasent on, i. 381
- Royal Titles Proclamation Bill, author's interest in, ii. 138
- Rozet, M., French Secretary, Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 200
- Rudbar, journey from, down the Sufid Rud, ii. 352
- Rugby under Dr. Tait, i. 18 *et seq.*
- Rumbold, Sir Horace, picnic of, at Corfu, ii. 20
- Rushdi Pacha, character-sketch of, ii. 4
- Russell, Lord Arthur, ii. 29, in Parliament, 121
- Russell, Lord John (afterwards Earl Russell), i. 57, 58, 71, 141, 144; attempted agreement of, with Russia, ii. 337; despatches from, on Ionian politics, i. 368, 369-71; and the cession of the Ionian Islands, 392, 393; and the Madiat case, 173-4; special mission of, to Vienna, 229-30; and the suppressed despatch from Rome, 342-6
- Russell, Lord Odo, and Pius IX., i. 198; Ambassador at Berlin, ii. 121; relation of, with Bismarck, 193-4; word invented by, 29
- Russell, Lord William, murder of, ii. 48
- Russell, Mr., interview of, with Pius IX. (1863), i. 342-6
- Russell, Mr., *Times* correspondent after Sedan, ii. 77
- Russell, Mr. Hastings, afterwards Duke of Bedford, ii. 121
- Russell, Sir George, and the Bradlaugh episode, ii. 254
- Russia—
attitude of, to British Convention with Turkey, ii. 238
to Eastern Roumelia Commission, i. 219 *et seq.*, 232-3, 235, 239, 241
to formation of Roumania, i. 180
to mixed occupation of Eastern Roumelia, ii. 237-8
to organisation of Eastern Roumelia, ii. 197, 204-5, 219 *et seq.*
to Roumelian Revolution, ii. 283
to Ulterior Convention, ii. 317
author's tour in, ii. 21 *et seq.*

- designs of, on Constantinople, ii. 240; views on Vienna (1878), 168 *et seq.*
 desire of, for access to Persian Gulf, author's views, ii. 372-4
 feeling towards, in Austria (1878), ii. 162
 influence of, in Montenegro, i. 359
 position of, in 1878., European views on, ii. 158 *et seq.*
 strength of, Bismarck's views on, ii. 149-50
 Russia and England, advantages of an approach between, *see* Anglo-Russian Agreement, ii. 241; views of the Amin-es-Sultan on, 328-9
 Russian bribe, story of an alleged, i. 113
 Constitution for the Ionian Islands, i. 275
 emissaries, independent action by, ii. 224-5
 Fleet, visit of, to Toulon, ii. 401, 402
 intrigues in Turkey, ii. 11
 snobbery, ii. 31-2
 Russians in Florentine society, i. 150-1
 Russo-Persian frontier, delimitation of, English and Russian official views, ii. 338-9
 Russo-Rouman Treaty, main provisions of, ii. 181
 Russo-Turkish War, Bismarck's attitude to, ii. 149; causes of, 139, 149; finale of, 130; Salisbury Circular on, 147, 153, 161
 Rustem Pacha (Count Mariani), ii. 310; cedars of, 18; mandrakes of, 19
 Rutland, Duke of (the late), (Lord John Manners, *q.v.*), and his second wife (*née* Hugghan), ii. 31
 Rutland, Duke of (the present), i. 107
 Rylands, Mr. Peter, ii. 131
 Saarbrücken, ii. 101, bombardment of, 88
 Sacken, General, i. 218
 Sagasta, Señor, famous Spanish statesman, ii. 396
 Said Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, ii. 284, and the Ulterior Convention, 313
 St. Albans, election at, ii. 106
 St. Anne's Hill, Chertsey, and its owner, i. 195
 St. Arpino, Duke of, i. 198
 St. Germans, Lord, *see* Eliot, William
 St. Helena, i. 219
 St. Ignatius, birthplace of, ii. 252
 St. James's Club, i. 67, and its habitués, 68
 St. John, Mr., i. 287
 St. John of Jerusalem, i. 274; Knights of, ambulance work of, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 82, 83
 St. Leu, Comte de (ex-King Louis (Bonaparte) of Holland), i. 12, 204
 St. Michael and St. George, Order of, founded, i. 274
 St. Michel, tower of, Bordeaux, vault below, i. 130
 St. Petersburg-Moscow railway, travelling upon, ii. 21-2
 St. Privat-la-Montagne, battle of, ii. 80-3
 St. Quentin, Fort, near Metz, ii. 82, 101
 Ste. Marie-aux-Chênes, battle, ii. 79, 80 *et seq.*
 Saladin, a descendant of, ii. 331
 Salamanca, Don, financier, ii. 394
 Sale, Mr., and Dr. Arnold, i. 21
 Salisbury Circular, The, ii. 147; effect of, on Europe, 154, 157, 161, 162; *Journal des Débats* on, 153
 Salisbury, Marchioness of, the late (*née* Alderson), i. 72, ii. 272; interest of, in Ionian exhibits (1862), i. 335
 Salisbury, Marquis of (the late), i. 141, 185, 336, ii. 216, 346, 384; at Berlin Congress, 193 *et seq.*, ovation to, on return, 196; at Bournemouth political dinner, 104; as Company Chairman, 53;

- correspondence of, with author on Turkish topics, 232 *et seq.*; despatch from the Salisbury Circular, 147, 153, 161, 162; despatch to, from author, on audience with Alexander III. at Berlin, 368 *et seq.*; differences between, and Beaconsfield, 104-5; Egyptian diviner's prediction on, i. 326; Fourth Party's support of, ii. 258; at Hugheuden, i. 335, 336; Persian questions referred to, on appointment of author as Ambassador, ii. 337, and laid down to M. de Giers, 338 *et seq.*; policy of, on the Eastern Question (1878), 147, 150, 153, 154, 157; European views on, 158 *et seq.*; as Prime Minister, 271, 272, 309; on Eastern Roumelia, 223-4; on English relations with Turkey, 223; on foreign languages in public schools, i. 20-1; on the Shah's proclamation on rights of property, ii. 342; on stumping (letter), 266; on titles of the Primrose League (letter), 270-1; *persona grata* on the Continent, 275, 289, 296; and the resignation of Lord R. Churchill, 312; Sultan's wish to communicate with, direct, 289-90
- Salisbury, Marquis and Marchioness (the late), author's visits to, i. 336, ii. 242; as hosts of the Shah, 357-8
- Salm, Prince, killed at Ste. Marie, ii. 84
- Salomos, Count, Senator of Zante, anecdote of, i. 354
- Salvagnoli, Signor, advocate, i. 146; *Liberal views* of, 153
- Samos, administration of, ii. 19
- Sandeman, Mr., i. 210
- Sanderson, Sir Thomas, ii. 310
- Sandwich Isles, King and Queen of (1824), i. 51
- San Lucar, Duke and Duchess of, i. 136
- San Martino, Prince Demidoff's Napoleonic Museum at, i. 219
- San Sebastian, i. 130, 131; owners of, ii. 398
- San Stefano, Treaty of, *see under* Treaty
- San Teodoro, Duke of, i. 193
- Santa Agueda, baths of, Canovas assassinated at, ii. 395
- Sant' Antonio, Gozo, i. 10
- Santo Paolo, Duke of, i. 159
- Saratoga, Burgoyne's surrender at, i. 72*
- Sardinia, and the Danube Provinces Commission, i. 180-1
- Sardinian affairs, Lord John Russell's despatch on, effect of, on Ionian politics, i. 36, *et seq.*
- Government, treatment by, of Garibaldi, i. 341
- Sarell family, British Levant merchants, ii. 320
- Sargent, Sir Charles and Lady, in Corfu, i. 366
- Sarmiento, M. and Mademoiselle, i. 210
- Sassoon, Messrs. David, and Co., founders, Imperial Bank of Persia, ii. 350
- Sassoon, Sir Albert, entertainer of the Shah, ii. 357
- Sassulitch, Vera, and General Treppoff, cartoon of, ii. 176
- Satriano, Prince, and Mr. Fagan, curious incident concerning, i. 191
- Savile, Lord (Mr. Lumley), ii. 21
- Savonarola, Girolamo, and Lorenzo de' Medici, i. 161
- Saxe-Coburg, Duke of, i. 241, 242
- Saxe-Coburg Gotha, H.R.H. the Duke of (the late), Prince Alfred, Duke of Edinburgh, the Crown of Greece offered to, i. 379, 384, 394; visit of, to Alexandria, ii. 306, good effect of, 307; visit of, to Corfu, 357
- Saxony, Prince George of, i. 241, 242

- Scandinavian literature, Dasent and Lowe's knowledge of, i. 26, 238
- Scarlett, Hon. Mr., i. 145-7, 172, 176, 177, 200
- Scépeaux, M., financial amateur, aid of, in Egypt, ii. 141
- Schamyl, a link with, ii. 323
- Schenck, Baron, German Minister, Tehran, family conjoint home of, ii. 331
- Schepelew, Colonel Alexander, ii. 199; on affairs in Eastern Roumelia, 203, 205-7
- Schéwitz, M., Russian Ambassador, Madrid, and his Dickens-loving family, ii. 387; *bon mot* of, 388
- Schiltigheim and the siege of Strasburg, ii. 87, 93, 94
- Schleswig - Holstein, H.R.H. Prince Christian, ii. 356
- Schlienz, Rev. Mr., missionary, i. 8
- Schools, schoolmasters, and school-fellows, i. 14
- Schouvaloff, Count, ii. 216; on the Treaty of Berlin, 265; on mixed occupation of Eastern Roumelia, 237; resignation of, 238
- Schröder, Messrs. J. H., and Co., founders, Imperial Bank of Persia, ii. 350
- Schwarzenberg, Prince, action of, and of Palmerston, in the Mather affair, i. 146; fruits of, in later years, ii. 162
- Scotch names in Russian army, i. 151
- Scotland, places visited in, by the Shah, ii. 360 *et seq.*
- Scott, Sir Walter, i. 42
- Sea-sickness, two stories on, i. 117
- Seaton, Lord, reforms of, in the Ionian Constitution, i. 275
- Sebright, Mr. (Baron d'Everton), in Ionian Islands, i. 367
- Sedan, visit to, after the war, i. 128, ii. 69-73
- Seebach, Count, Saxon Minister at Paris, and his wife (*née* Nesselrode), i. 208, ii. 201
- Selim Pasha, ii. 200
- Sermon on Ambassadors, i. 183
- Server Pasha, ii. 284
- Servia, in 1860., ii. 5; aspirations of, 239; ethnography of, 239; Plener's views on, 167
- Servia, Prince of, character-sketch of, ii. 10
- Servia, Princess of, Palmerston's interviews with, i. 362
- Sevastopol, old friends at, ii. 353
- Sewell, Mr., ambulance work of, during Franco - Prussian War, ii. 79
- Seymour, Lady Robert, i. 95
- Seymour, Lord, at Corfu, i. 363
- Seymour, Lord George, i. 8
- Seymour, Mr. Alfred, i. 86, 87, 102; at seat of war, 1870., 89
- Seymour, Mr. Henry, i. 86, 87, 102
- Seymour, Mr. Horatio, story of, ii. 48
- Seymour, Mr. and Mrs., i. 102
- Seymour, Sir Hamilton, i. 8, 87, 88
- Shaftesbury, Countess of, pets of, i. 15
- Shaftesbury, Earl of, the philanthropist, i. 15
- Shah, the, *see* Nasser-od-Din
- Sharpe, Mr., *see* "Conversation Sharpe"
- Shat-al-Arab, mouth of, ii. 343
- Sheffield, visit to, of the Shah, i. 359
- Sheffield, Mr., forecast by, of results of Congress of, ii. 152
- Shehaab, house of, descent of, from Nance Oldfield, ii. 46
- Sheikha, the, divination by, i. 325-7
- Sheikh-el-Sedaat, the, on the Anglo-Turkish Convention, ii. 295, 296
- Sheikh-ul-Islam, the, on the Anglo-Turkish Convention, ii. 295-6; author's visit to, 316
- Sheikhs, the Arab, influence of, on Egyptian affairs, ii. 280
- Shelburne, Lord, i. 65, as

454 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 206, 212
- Shelley, Sir Percy, dramatic tastes of, ii. 102
- Sherbrooke, Viscount, *see* Lowe, Mr. Robert
- Sheridan, Mr. (*père*), stories of, and of his famous son, i. 97-9
- Sheridan, Mr., M.P., ii. 27
- Sheridan, Mr. Frank, i. 115
- Sheriff, Lawrence, founder of Rugby, i. 19
- Sherry, history ament, ii. 138
- Shiah Mussulmans, marriage among, ii. 326
- Shimran, Shah's summer palace at, ii. 325
- Shiraz and Xeres, link between, i. 138
- Shorter, Lord Mayor, i. 95
- Sickles, General, ii. 407
- Silvela, Señor, Spanish Statesman, and his wife, ii. 396
- Simon, Madame, and the wounded of St. Marie, ii. 84
- Simonyi, Baron, ii. 189
- Simonyi, M. Ernest, ii. 189
- Simpson, Mr. Palgrave, histrionic style of, ii. 103
- Sinaia, in summer, ii. 381
- Sismondi, story of, i. 161-2
- Slavs, Austrian, loyalty of, ii. 160-4, 175
- Southern, attitude of, to Union, ii. 239; fear of Austria, 239
- Slavy, M., Andrassy's ally, ii. 187, 189
- Sloane, Mr. and Mrs., wealth and gratitude of, i. 160-1
- Slovaks, Austrian, loyalty of, ii. 164
- Sluys, i. 31, luncheons at, ii. 32
- Smith, General, Sir R. Murdoch, on advantages to British commerce of the Karun River, ii. 343; and the Shah, in Edinburgh, 362
- Smith, Mr. Albert, i. 39, 229
- Smith, Mr. Arthur, i. 229
- Smith, Mr. C. H., i. 7
- Smith, Mr. O., actor, i. 37
- Smith, Rt. Hon. W. H., ii. 128
- Smyth, Sir Leicester, i. 292, and the Shah, ii. 364
- Smyth, Miss, and her brother, i. 96
- Smyth, Professor, and the Sheridans, i. 97-9
- Smythe, Mr. George, i. 76
- Snowden, General, ii. 387
- Socialistic movement, babies and, ii. 385
- Society, changes in, as to extent and composition, i. 43-5
- Some Notes of the Past*, by the author, ii. 67
- Somerset, Duchess of (*née* Sheridan), i. 115, 191, 336
- Somerset, Duke of, i. 102
- Somerville, Mrs., mathematician, i. 156
- "Song of the Shirt," by Tom Hood, parodied by Lever, i. 174-5
- Songs interspersed in plays, i. 37
- Sopwirth, Miss, and her relations in Spain, ii. 386
- Sothebys, the Misses, i. 95
- Sotomayor, Duke of, i. 123; high position of, at Court, ii. 398
- Soudan, the geomancy in, i. 298; pacification of, discussions on, with the Khedive and Moukhtar Pasha, ii. 305; relations of Egypt with, 275, 287, 289, 296; views on, of Moukhtar Pasha, 302-3
- Soudanese, the, religious fanaticism of, ii. 303; poetess, war-song by, 304
- Soult, Maréchal, i. 120
- South Sea Bubble, parallels to, in the sixties, ii. 54
- Spa memories, i. 69, ii. 78, 84, 89
- Spain, alarm in, at visit of Russian Fleet to Toulon, ii. 401, 402; author's first travels in, i. 129 *et seq.*; ii. 399; author as Ambassador to, 384 *et seq.*; events during period, *see also* Commercial Treaty, 390; ceremonial of reception of Ambassadors in, 391; ex-kings of, *see* Amadeo and Jerome Bonaparte; two standing dangers in, 390; wars of, Cuban

- insurrection, 402 *et seq.*,
Morocco, 390, 402, United
States, 387, consequences
of, 389, 393, 402, 403-4,
405; vast internal resources
of, 405
- Spanish Marriages, effects of, i.
120 *et seq.*
 race, Arab blood in, ii. 387-8
 sherry-growing, origin of, i. 138
 statesmen, ii. 394 *et seq.*
 tariffs, the, ii. 384-5
 titles and grandeeships, i. 136-7
- Spanish Handbook, The*, by R.
Ford, i. 93
- Spartali, the Misses, Christine and
Marie, painter and pianist,
i. 355
- Special constables in London, i.
121, 122
- Special Missions, *see under* coun-
tries, etc., concerned
- Spence, Mr., artist, i. 189
- Spencer, Bishop, i. 2
- Spencer, Earl and Countess, in
Spain, ii. 399
- Spinsters in Society, i. 94-7
- Spiritualism, anecdote of, i. 336-7
- Spizza, as port for Montenegro,
i. 360, ii. 151
- Spooner, Mr., M.P., i. 117-18
- Staal, M. de, Russian Ambassador,
London, on "British and
Russian action in Persia,"
ii. 338 *et seq.*; on the
Egyptian question, 277;
tribute to, 340
- Stamps, a nice taste in, i. 127-8
- Standard, The*, "suppressed de-
spatch" from Cardinal
Antonelli published in, i.
344-5
- Standert, Dr., ii. 37
- Stanhope, Mr. Edward, M.P., ii.
252
- Stanhope, Mr. and Lady Elizabeth
(*née* Coke), i. 92
- Stanley, Sir William Massey, i.
125
- Stanley, Lord, i. 258
- Stanley of Alderley, Lord, i. 65
- Stanmore, Lord (Hon. Arthur
Gordon), i. 282-3; in Spain,
ii. 399
- Stapleton, Miss Chetwynd-, i. 95
- Staveley, Mr., i. 52
- Stephenson, General Sir Frederick,
a tribute to, ii. 303, 307
- Stettin, ii. 21
- Stewart, Colonel, with author in
Persia, subsequent offices
held by, ii. 324
- Stolipine, General, Governor of
Eastern Roumelia, ii. 225,
226, 240-1, and his wife
(*née* Gortchakoff), 220-1,
225; on mixed occupation
of Eastern Roumelia, 237
- Stopford, Mrs., i. 135
- Storer, Mr. Bellamy, American
Minister, Madrid, after the
war, ii. 387
- Storks, Sir Henry, i. 283, ii.
29; Lord High Commis-
sioner, Ionian Islands, i. 290,
296, 357; staff of, 291, 358;
policy of, 293; letters to
author on Ionian affairs,
375-9; message to Assembly
on union with Greece, 371;
final proceedings as to
cession of Ionian Islands,
396 *et seq.*, and departure,
ii. 13
- Strachey, Mr., i. 284
- Strahan, Lieutenant, R.A., A.D.C.
to Storks in Corfu, why
chosen, i. 291
- Strangford, Viscount and Vis-
countess, at Corfu, i. 364
- Strasburg Cathedral, in ruins, ii.
92
 siege of, and after, ii. 85-8, 90
 et seq.
- Stratford de Redcliffe, Viscount
(Sir Stratford Canning), i.
55, 182, 386; story of
wasted tact, 82; a Turkish
colleague of, ii. 316
- Strathnairn, Lord (Sir Hugh
Rose), ii. 36-7
- Strickland, Miss Agnes, i. 96
- Strzelecki, Count, ii. 29, 30
- Stuart, Lady Dudley (*née* Bona-
parte), i. 202-3
- Stuart, Lord Dudley, i. 202-3,
and Palmerston, 111-12
- Stuart, Mr., i. 202
- Stuart, Sir Charles, i. 50
- Stuart, Sir William, i. 125

456 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Stumm, Baron, German Ambassador, Madrid, ii. 386
- Sturt, Colonel, M.P., quaint sayings of, ii. 27-8
- Suez Canal, British and French interests in, ii. 285; mileage saving of route *viâ*, to Bombay, 373; neutralisation of, Lord Salisbury on, 269; opening of, 292; shares, purchase of, 137, 285
- Sufid Rud, river, author's boat journey down, ii. 352-3
- Sultan, the, *see* Abdul Hamid
- Sun, The*, and the Treaty of Paris, i. 233
- "Surtout, point de zèle," i. 53
- "Susanna," *bon mot* of Monckton Milnes, i. 94
- Sutherland, Duke of, Shah of Persia entertained by, ii. 351
- Swiss Army, i. 14
- Switzerland, charms of, i. 13; Evangelical Revival in, 13, 14
- Sycophants, an awkward query, i. 78
- Syracuse, Count of, French plays given by, i. 192-3
- Syria, affairs in, in 1860, ii. 5, 6, 8-10
- Taafe, Count, ii. 161
- Table Talk*, by S. Rogers, i. 1
- Taglioni, Mademoiselle, i. 143-4
- Tait, Rt. Rev. Dr., Archbishop of Canterbury, as Head of Rugby, i. 18 *et seq.*
- Talfourd, Mr., i. 39
- Talleyrand, Duc de (Duc de Dino), i. 152, 154, his wife, 156
- Talleyrand, Prince, i. 32, 151, *bon mot* of, 53; story of his self-control, ii. 33-4
- Tankerville, Countess of, i. 72, 100
- Tannhäuser*, poem by Lytton and Fane, i. 212
- Taylor, Lady, family connections of, i. 263
- Taylor, Mr. Bridges, and his wife, i. 57-8
- Taylor, Mr. Hannis, American Minister, Madrid, legal knowledge of, ii. 386
- Taylor, Mr. Tom, i. 227; play by, 37
- Taylor, Sir Brook, i. 57
- Taylor, Sir Henry, and his Colonial Office work, i. 263
- Taylor, Sir Herbert, i. 57
- Tcherkassy, Prince, views of, ii. 183
- Tchihacheff, M., book by, ii. 14
- Teatro del Fonde, Naples, curious incident at, i. 191
- Tehran, Imperial Bank of Persia established at, ii. 350; journey to, 322 *et seq.*; Legation at, 325; Mr. Arthur Arnold at, 112; Shah's summer palace near, 325
- "Telegram," inventor of the word, ii. 29
- Telegrams, false, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 90
- Temple, Sir Richard, i. 22
- Temple, Sir William, Minister at Naples, i. 190, 194
- "Terminological inexactitude," stories about, i. 82-3
- Territorial immunity, phrase preferred by the Sultan, ii. 318
- Tetuan, Duke of (O'Donnell), Spanish statesman, ii. 397
- Tewfik (Mehemet Thewfik), Pasha, Khedive, allowance to family of, ii. 310; author reads the Convention to, 291, his attitude, 292; characteristics of, 292; discussions of, with author and Moukhtar Pasha, 304, subjects of, 305; on English Royal and official courtesy to his sons, 306; kindness of, 321; letter from, to author on his illness, 321; views on, of Ismail Pasha, 308, and of M. Musurus, 275; widow of, 401
- Thackeray, Mr. William Makepeace, i. 109
- Thellusson, Mr., i. 29
- Theotokopolis, *see* Greco

Thiers, Adolphe, ii. 196
 Thiers, M. Adolphe, on England's action in 1870., ii. 184
 Thievès as guests, i. 85
 Thorngrove, Herefordshire, birth-place of Prince Louis Lucien Bonaparte, i. 203
 Thorpe, Mr., epitaph on, i. 91
 Thouars, Captain Dupetit, service of, in Strasburg, ii. 90
Three Constitutions, The (Ionian), book on, i. 275
 Tichborne, Lady (*née* Seymour), mother of Roger Tichborne, i. 102
 Tichborne, Mr. *Roger, and the Tichborne Claimant, i. 87, 101, 102
 Ticknor, the writer, on Hayward's Athenæum dinners, ii. 29-30
 Tiflis, society at, ii. 324; second visit to, 376
Times, The, and the Carlovo widows' petition, ii. 214; correspondents of, *see* Bell, Pemberton, Russell, Wallace; editors and staff of, attitude of, to Protection, i. 236-8; as a garment, 114; on Gladstone's Ionian mission, 287; letter in, concerning lost Ionian despatches, 284; author's letters to, on tobacco duty, 347
 Tisza, M., Hungarian Minister, ii. 160; overthrow aimed at, 187, 192; views of, on Eastern Question, ii. 190
 Titian and Charles V., ii. 400
 Tobacco, duties on, author's agitation to lower, i. 347-9
 Todd, Mr. White, and the Algerias railway, ii. 405
 Todleben, General, characteristics of, ii. 221-2; author's communications with, 222-4, 225, 226
 Tolomei, Marchese, and his wife (*née* Ricci), i. 152
 Tolosa, i. 132
 Tonino Pasha in Egypt, ii. 291
 Tonjouroff, M., ii. 212
 "Toots, Mr.," i. 124

To Parents and Guardians, play, i. 37
 Torcy, Vicomte de, aid of the Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 226
 Torrington, Viscount, i. 51
 Toul, cathedral and church of, ii. 96; siege of, anecdotes of, 98, 99; history of, 97; traces of, 95
 Toulon, visit to, of Russian Fleet, ii. 401, 402
 Tours, end of railway at (1850), i. 127
 Townley, Colonel, Queen's Messenger, valuable services of, i. 209
 Townley, Lady Caroline, i. 172
 Townley, Mr., of Tehran Legation, subsequent appointment of, ii. 375
 Trains, use of, in modern warfare, ii. 77, 85, 95, 100, 101
 Trapani, Count and Countess de, i. 193
 Traveller friends, i. 109, 110, 111
 Travellers' Club, i. 69
 Treaty of Berlin, ii. 139, 194; provisions of, i. 197, as affecting Bulgaria, ii. 221, and Eastern Roumelia, 210-11; attitude to, of Don-doukoff - Korsakoff, 204, 219; basis of Lord Salisbury's attitude on Eastern Roumelia, ii. 238; Beaconsfield on (letter), ii. 264-5
 of cession of Ionian Islands, i. 390
 of Fontainebleau, i. 217
 of Paris, i. 230-1, 232-3; effect of, on Danubian Principalities, i. 179-80, and on Ionian Islands, i. 273, 284, 287
 of Peace with Persia, i. 267
 Russo-Rouman, the, ii. 181
 of San Stefano, ii. 48
 attitude to, of Austria Hungary, ii. 148, England, 193, Russia, 197, 204-5, 219 *et seq.*, Turkey, 11, 201
 results of, ii. 169, 171
 superseded by that of Berlin, ii. 221
 Trevanion, Mr., i. 29

458 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Trevelyan, Sir Charles, i. 94
 Trevelyan, Sir George, i. 94, ii. 120
 Trevor, Miss (Mrs. Ralph Disraeli), i. 75
 Tricoupis, M. Charilaus, i. 331
 Trieste and the Trientino, Italy's claim for, ii. 177
 Triple Alliance, the, ii. 401
 Trollope, Mr. Anthony, novelist, ii. 29
 Trollope, Mr. T. Adolphus, and his daughter, i. 156
 Trotte, Captain, i. 171
 Tuckwell's *Biographical and Literary Study* of Mr. Kinglake, on Hayward's Athenæum dinners, ii. 29-30
 Tunnels, value of, in warfare, ii. 95
 Tupper, Mr. Martin Farquhar, vanity of, i. 77
 Turcos, the, at Sedan, ii. 72
 Turkan Effendi, Turkish Minister, Madrid, ii. 388
 Turkey, *see also* Abdul Aziz Sultan, Eastern Question, and Russo-Turkish War, etc.
 attitude of, to formation of Roumania, i. 180, to Treaty of San Stefano, ii. 201
 constitution of, relation of, to Russo-Turkish War, ii. 149
 feeling towards, in Montenegro, i. 359, 360, 363
 insurrection in (1876), and its consequences, ii. 139
 power of British consuls in, i. 279
 reforms in, debate on, ii. 136
 Special Mission of author to, on Egyptian affairs, ii. 272; personnel, 274; venue, 278; objects, 279; Turkish and other official attitude to, 279; event during course of, 282
 convention signed after provisions of, 287 *et seq.*
 general approval of, 288
 views on, of Lord Salisbury, ii. 233
 Turkish affairs in 1860, letters on, from Sir Henry Bulwer to Admiral Martin, ii. 1 *et seq.*
 administration, ii. 1, 2
 condition of the Turkish Empire, ii. 5, 6, 10; main dangers menacing, 11, 12
 finances, ii. 2-4, 7-8
 financial, ii. 13, 26-7
 Grand Vizier, the, ii. 4, 6, 7
 politics of persons, ii. 4, 5, 6, 7
 reforms opposed, ii. 12
 attitude to the Commission on Eastern Roumelia, ii. 241
 ladies, i. 8
 official views on the Ulterior Convention, ii. 313 *et seq.*
 desires as to Egyptian administration, ii. 314, and views on British occupation of Egypt, 317
 pride, effects of, ii. 11
 troops in Egypt, diplomatic views on, ii. 275 *et seq.*, 282, wishes of the Sultan, 281
 Turkish Department, Foreign Office, i. 55
 Turkish High Commissioner for Egypt, appointment of, views on, ii. 287, 290, 295, 296; arrival of, in Cairo, 298; character of, according to *El Zamân*, 298
 Turko-Persian frontier, ill-defined, ii. 337-8
 Turks and Bulgarians, differences between, ii. 211-12; distress among, how alleviated, 212
 Turks and Christians, causes of friction between, ii. 3, 5, 6, 11
 Tuscany, affairs in, 1852, i. 144-5; the Mather difficulty, 145 *et seq.*
 Tuscany, Elise, Grand Duchess of, sister of Napoleon I., in Elba, i. 134
 Tuscany, Grand Duchess of, i. 163, 172
 Tuscany, Grand Duke of, i. 159, 163; and the Madiari case, 171; story of, 172
 Tver, ii. 21
 Twins, American story of, i. 268
 Twiss, Mr. Martin, i. 68
 Twiss, Sir Travers, pamphlet by, on Suez Canal questions, ii. 137
 Type-writing, the boon of, 209

- Typhus among troops, Franco-Prussian War, ii. 79, 100
- Tzeretelew, Prince, ii. 199, 200, 201, 225, 234; political views of, 199; *sobriquet* of, 235
- Uhlands, the, in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 68
- Uhrich, Gen., reputation of, ii. 91
- Ulemas, the, sympathies of, with Moukhtar Pasha, ii. 302
- Uterior Convention, the, ii. 309; discussions on, in London, 310; vague changed to Constantinople, 313, progress of, 313 *et seq.*; principal points in, 317-19, provisions of, 318-20, signed but not ratified, 320
- Ultimi Rivolgimenti, Gli*, by Marquis Gualterio, i. 153
- Undaunted*, H.M.S., conveying Napoleon I. to Elba, i. 218, 219
- Under-Secretaries of State, contemporaries of the author, i. 65 *et seq.*
- Urquhart, Mr. David, and Palmerston, i. 113; some peculiarities of, 113-14
- Usedom, Baron and Baroness (*née* Malcolm), i. 158; and the Madiat case, 171
- Valle, Señor Zarco del, Introducer of Ambassadors, Spain, ii. 391
- Valsamachi, Countess (formerly Mrs. Heber), and her husband, i. 366
- Van de Weyer, M. and Madame, i. 241, 244
- Vanity Fair*, cartoon of Mr. Balfour as one of the Fourth Party, ii. 259
- Varignano, Garibaldi's letter from, to People of England, i. 338
- Vattel's maxim on revolution, i. 370
- Vaughan, Mr. George, and his wife (*née* O'Shea), i. 135
- Vaux, Mr., literary parties of, i. 238
- Vauxhall Gardens, i. 34; the balloon and the debtor, 44
- Vega de Armijo, Marquis, Spanish statesman, ii. 397
- Velasquez Tercentenary, ii. 400
- Veliahd, the Persian Heir-Apparent, rivalry of, with the Zil-es-Sultan, ii. 333; form of Proclamation, rights of property as issued to, 340 342
- Venables, Mr. George Stovin, of the *Times*, ii. 29
- Vendenheim, ii. 94
- Venetian policy in the Ionian Islands, i. 274
- Ventimiglia, famous garden at (*La Mortola*), ii. 124
- Verdun, see of, creation of, ii. 96
- Vernon, Mr. Fitzpatrick, i. 123-4
- Vernoni, Chevalier, ii. 199
- Verrey's restaurant, i. 67
- Verviers, prison visits at, i. 69
- Vestris, Madame, i. 36
- Victor Emmanuel I., i. 370
- Victor Emmanuel II., King of Sardinia, opening of Exhibition at Florence by, i. 332
- Victoria, Queen (the late), i. 162, 251-2, ii. 249; attentions shown by, to the Shah, 342, 351, 356-7, 364, 366; buys Osborne House, i. 100; courtesies of, to sons of Tewfik Pasha (*Khedive*), ii. 306; Diamond Jubilee of, 403; gratitude to, of the Ionians, on annexation of Greece, i. 388; hostess of, at Ayete, ii. 398; messages from, to the Sultan, 278, 314; naming of Queensland by, i. 291; and the present King of the Belgians, 249; and the Prince Consort, 193, visit of, to Napoleon III., 230; reception by, of Princess of Serbia, 362; representative of, on Exhibition Committee, 334; two stories about, 81-2; yacht lent by, to the Empress of Austria, 357

Victoria, city, Australia, paving of, i. 266-7

Viechi, C. Augusto, Garibaldi's letter despatched by, i. 341

Vienna, acquaintances at, ii. 53, 201; favourable to the Salisbury Circular, 161

Vilain XIII., Vicomte, i. 239, 240, 245, 250

Villa Marina, Count, i. 158

Villiers, Hon. Charles, instance of his wit, i. 101

Vitalis, Colonel, and his appointment, ii. 226

Vivian, Lord and Lady, career of the former, i. 62, ii. 142

Voisins, Comte Gilbert des, husband of Taglioni, i. 144

Volunteers, the Rifle, i. 238

Vosges, the, military value of, ignored in Franco-Prussian War, ii. 95.

Waddesdon, Shah's visit to, ii. 358

Waddington, M., French Ambassador, i. 72, ii. 310; at Rugby, i. 20; on Anglo-French relations, and the Conservatives, ii. 275; on the Eastern Question, etc., 150-1; on Egyptian affairs, 275-6

Wady Halfa, ii. 297

Wakefield Grammar School, i. 18

Waldegrave, Captain, afterwards Earl Waldegrave, i. 92

Waldegrave, Countess, i. 61

Wales, Prince of (King Edward VII.), ii. 242; author's audience with the Czar facilitated by, 367, 368; hospitalities of, to the Shah, 356 *et seq.*, impression left by the visit, 366-7; marriage of, i. 395; visit of, to Corfu, 357

Wales, Prince Albert Victor of, *see* Clarence, Duke of

Wales, Prince George of (Prince of Wales); at Alexandria, ii. 306-7; and the Shah, 356, 358

Wales, Princess of (Queen Alexandra), ii. 242; marriage of, i. 395

Walewski, Count, ii. 40; as host, i. 210; letters from, on the case of Holard, 220; and the Treaty of Paris, 232; wife of (*née* Bentivoglio), 152

Walker, Captain, and the Madiat case, i. 169 *et seq.*

Wallace, Mr. Mackenzie (now Sir Donald), of the *Times*, in Bulgaria, ii. 214, 220; visit from, at Tehran, 372

Wallace, Sir Richard, i. 87-8; in the House, ii. 121

Wallscourt, Lord and Lady, friendship with, ii. 252

Walpole, Colonel Lambert, i. 96

Walpole, Hon. Misses, i. 188

Walpole, Horace, and Miss Berry, i. 95

Walpole, Hon. Robert Horace (now Earl of Orford), author's Private Secretary, Eastern Roumelia Commission, ii. 197 *et seq.*, and on Special Mission to Turkey, 274

Walpole, Lady, i. 188, 194; and her daughter, 150

Walpole, Lady Dorothy, *see* Nevill, Lady Dorothy

Walpole, Lady Maria, and her husband, ii. 46

Walpole, Miss Elizabeth, i. 97

Walpole, the Misses, and their parents, i. 96-7

Walpole, Mr. and Mrs. Spencer, i. 92

Walpole, Rev. Thomas, i. 40

Walpole, Rt. Hon. Spencer, i. 194; character-study of, 258

Walpole, Sir Robert, later Earl of Orford, ii. 46; one ambition of, i. 234; wife (*née* Shorter) and son of, 95

Walton, Consul, at Carrara, a disconsolate orphan, i. 189

Wantage, Lord and Lady, in Spain, ii. 399

Warburton, Mr. Eliot, i. 111

Ward, Mr. Thomas Lawrence, i. 52

Warrender, Miss, in Madrid, ii. 400

- Waterloo banquets, story of, i. 79**
 Battle of, i. 239; news of, how brought to England, ii. 133
- Watts, Mr. G. F., R.A., ii. 400;**
 frescoes by, Cosmopolitan Club, 109; painting by, at Careggi, i. 161
- Waux Hall Gardens, Brussels, i. 243**
- Wawn, Mr., M.P., and the case of Mr. Mather, i. 145**
- Waylell, Mrs., see Lee, Mrs. Alexander**
- Webster, Mr., i. 36**
- Webster, the statesman, an American appreciation of, i. 260**
- Wedel, Count, ii. 387**
- Wedel-Jarlsberg, Baron, Minister for Sweden and Norway, Madrid, present post, ii. 387**
- Weede, M. de, Netherlands Minister, Bucarest, and his wife, afterward at Madrid, ii. 381**
- Welby, Lord, ii. 310**
- Welby, Mr., appointments held by, ii. 386**
- Wellesley, Marquis, i. 58**
- Wellesley, Mr. Richard, i. 58, 62;**
 musical tastes of, 67
- Wellington, Duke of (the Great Duke), i. 74, 141, 235; and Holard, 219, 248; Waterloo banquets given by, 79**
 "Wellington" restaurant, i. 67
- Wenlock, Lord, ii. 40, 41**
- Wensleydale, Lord, story about, ii. 35**
- West, Colonel, i. 194**
- Westbury, Lord (Mr. Bethell), and Serjeant Murphy, ii. 32**
- Westminster, Duke of, host of Shah at Eaton Hall, ii. 359**
- Westmorland, Countess of, i. 251**
- Westmorland, Earl of (see also Burghersh, Lord), i. 146, 248; assists Holard, 220; Special Mission of, to Brussels, 239, decoration from King of Belgians, 245, despatch from, on receipt of, 250**
- Westphalia, Queen of, i. 218**
- Wharnccliffe, Earl of, and *The Owl*, ii. 39**
- What is Property?* by Proudhon, i. 125**
- Wheel of Pythagoras, divination by, i. 321-9**
- Whistlecraft*, poem by Hookham Frere, i. 2**
- Whitall family, Levant merchants, ii. 320**
- Whitbread, Mr., the brewer, i. 31**
- White, Colonel, nickname of, i. 241**
- White, Lady, ii. 316**
- White, Major, of Tehran Telegraph Service, ii. 371**
- White, Sir William, and Bulgarian affairs, ii. 314; visit to, at Therapia, 371**
- Wigs, a story of, i. 155**
- Wilberforce, Bishop of Newcastle, his father, and his wife, ii. 363**
- William II., German Emperor, ii. 387; and his Consort, author introduced to, 367**
- William IV., i. 53; and the Reform Bill, 5, 6**
- Williams, Sir Fenwick, at Kars, ii. 325**
- Williamson, Mr. William, i. 29**
- Williamson, Sir Hedworth and Lady, i. 29**
- Wilmot, Sir Henry, v.c., i. 19**
- Wilson, Captain Fleetwood, and his wife (*née* Walker), i. 169; and the Madiat case, 170**
- Wilson, Sir Guy Fleetwood, i. 169**
- Wimpfen, De, proclamation of, after Sedan, ii. 72**
- Winckler, Major von, German Secretary, Tehran, ii. 331-2**
- Windsor, Lord and Lady, as hosts of the Shah, ii. 358**
- Windsor, author stands for, ii. 37**
- Wine-growing in Spain, origin of, i. 138**
- Winn, Mr. Charles, through Franco-Prussian War, ii. 88**
- Winn, Mr. Rowland (Lord St. Oswald), abilities of, ii. 128**
- Winter society in London, i. 100**

462 RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS

- Wives**, number of, Turkish and English, i. 262
Wodehouse, Admiral, and his sisters, ii. 247
Wodehouse, Hon. —, ii. 233-4
Wodehouse, Lord, *see* Kimberley, Earl of
Wolff, Lady Drummond, i. 194; marriage of, 188; Greek musicians patronised by, 354-5; Napoleonic relic once owned by, ii. 397; Order conferred on by Queen Regent of Spain, 405-6; Order of the Shefakat conferred on, 290; and the Shah, 326-7
Wolley, Mr., private theatre of, i. 73
Wolterton, marriage at, of Lady Dorothy Nevill, i. 69-70
Wood, General and Mrs., i. 8
Woodford, General, ii. 387
Woodford, Mr. i. 62; musical tastes of, 67
Woodford, Sir Alexander, i. 63
Work, power for, growing with exercise in, i. 209
Worthington, Rev. Dr., i. 33
Wortley, Hon. James Stuart, and *The Owl*, ii. 39
Wortley, Lieutenant Stuart, military attaché to author's Special Mission to Turkey, ii. 274; information procured by, from Assouan, 296-7
Wren, Sir Christopher, birthplace of, i. 102
Wright, Mr., comedian, i. 37
Wrottesley, Captain, i. 129
Wrottesley, General George, and Mrs., i. 72-3, 103
Württemberg, Prince Paul of, i. 158
Wyatt, Sir Digby, i. 167
Wyke, Sir Charles, i. 106-7, ii. 19, 29; adventurous life of, i. 103-4
Wyld, Mr., cartographer, i. 117
Wylde, General, i. 58
Wylde, Mr., i. 51, 58
Wyndham, Mr. Percy, builder of Clouds, i. 102
Wyndham, Mr. Percy, on author's staff, Madrid, ii. 406
Wynn, Mr. Tycho, i. 22
Wynn, Sir Watkin, i. 17

Xeres and Shiraz, link between, i. 138

Yates, Mr. Edmund, i. 229
Yelverton, Admiral, ii. 20, at Corfu, i. 365
Yemen, pacificator of (*see* Moukhtar), ii. 299; on his own methods, 300
York, Cardinal of (Henry IX.), ii. 48
York, traces of Roman influence and blood in, ii. 382-3
Yorke, Mr. Reginald, ii. 252
Young England Party, i. 76
Young ladies, restrictions on, in author's youth, i. 39, 40
Young, Sir John, Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, letter to, from Sir E. B. Lytton, on Gladstone's mission, i. 280-1: despatches from, unauthorised publication of, 283, contents, 284, mystery explained, 285; recall of, rumoured, 287
Young, Tom, story about, ii. 33
Yousseff Pasha (Choukdi appointed Turkish delegate on affairs of Egyptian army, ii. 305

Zaimis, M., and the cession of the Ionian Islands, i. 390
Zamán, *El*, Egyptian newspaper, on Moukhtar Pasha, ii. 298
Zambelli, M., literary man, Corfu, i. 331; letter from, on Ionian Institute, i. 350
Zanetti, Professor, medical man, Liberalism of, i. 153
Zante, i. 278; Senator of, anecdote of, i. 354
Zarco del Valle, Señor, Introducer of Ambassadors, Spain, ii. 391

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>Zervo, M., Ionian politician, i. 375, 376</p> <p>Zichy, Count, ii. 202</p> <p>Zigani, tribe, in Persia, ii. 352</p> <p>Zil-es-Sultan, the, and his brother, rivalry between, ii. 333</p> <p>Zoological Gardens, giraffes of, i. 8, 9</p> | <p>Zouaves in the Franco-Prussian War, ii. 69</p> <p>Zouche, Lord, and his sister, at Madrid, ii. 407</p> <p>Zulficar Pasha, and the Turkish Commissioners at Alexandria, ii. 299</p> |
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THE END

